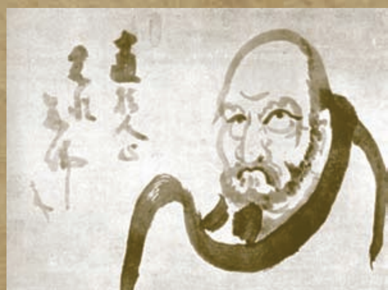


IMPERIAL-WAY ZEN

ICHIKAWA HAKUGEN'S CRITIQUE AND
LINGERING QUESTIONS FOR BUDDHIST ETHICS

CHRISTOPHER IVES

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To my parents, Marilla and Bud,
whose love has always supported
me on my journeys.

CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Preaching a gospel of non-violence, the Dalai Lama has presented Buddhism to his wide audience as a religion of peace. Jack Kerouac and other Beat writers imagined an East Asian Zen populated by poets, hermits, and eccentrics, defiantly extricated from conventional morality and political co-optation. While these representations may hold sway in the popular imagination, history presents a different Buddhism. During the first half of the twentieth century, for example, Zen Buddhist leaders contributed actively to Japanese imperialism, giving rise to what has been termed "Imperial-Way Zen" (*kōdō Zen*), one variety of broader "Imperial-Way Buddhism" (*kōdō Bukkyō*).

This historical record prompts a number of questions. How could Zen, a religion ostensibly committed to non-violence, the cultivation of wisdom and compassion, and the vow to liberate all sentient beings, have collaborated with Japanese imperialism, with all of its parochial nationalism[1] and destructive militarism? To what extent have postwar Zen leaders reflected on recent history and perhaps even apologized for their war responsibility? Have they made efforts to reform their tradition and thereby avoid being doomed to repeat mistakes? Might such core Buddhist moral values as non-violence and compassion have moderated that wartime collaboration and now provide resources with which Japanese Zen thinkers can construct a critical social ethic? This book in part seeks to answer these questions.

Most scholars who have investigated the connections between religion and Japanese imperialism from the Meiji Restoration (1868) up through the Fifteen-Year War (1931–1945) have focused on Shinto, the Japanese religious tradition most integrated into and implicated in modern Japanese imperialism.[2] Buddhism, however, has attracted its share of scrutiny as well. A small but growing number

of Japanese scholars have written on Imperial-Way Buddhism.[3] Several writers in English have sketched Buddhist nationalism during the Meiji period (1868–1912),[4] collaboration with later governmental attempts to control new religious movements,[5] and contributions to Japanese imperialism from the Meiji up through the Taishō (1912–1926) and early-Shōwa (1926–1945) periods.[6]

The foremost scholar of Imperial-Way Zen is priest, professor, and activist Ichikawa Hakugen (1902–1986). From the end of the war until his death he chronicled Zen support for Japanese imperialism and pressed the issue of Buddhist war responsibility. And he did so almost single-handedly, living as he did in a climate that was long on celebration of postwar democracy and peace but short on analysis of wartime militarism and belligerence. In his critique Ichikawa advanced arguments about the Zen approach to religious liberation and society, political ramifications of Buddhist metaphysical and logical constructs, traditional relations between Buddhism and governments in East Asia, tensions between Buddhist and Marxist thought in Japan, the philosophical system of Nishida Kitarō (1876–1945), and the vestiges of State Shinto in postwar Japan. Greatly influenced by Ichikawa, Brian Daizen Victoria has recently detailed in English the actions and ideology of the most active Zen supporters of Japanese imperialism, and his writings have prodded Rinzai Zen leaders to begin reflecting on and apologizing for their tradition's wartime actions.

Despite the importance of Ichikawa's writings, no scholar in Japanese or any other language has outlined Ichikawa's critique. I have written this book to begin filling that void, while offering my own reflections on Zen ethics in light of the historical phenomenon of Imperial-Way Zen.

After devoting the first chapter to an overview of the actions and ideology that characterized Imperial-Way Buddhism from the Meiji Restoration up through 1945, I turn to Ichikawa. In chapter two I sketch his arguments about the facets of the Zen religious path that contributed to Imperial-Way Zen. As we will see, he claims that the "peace of mind" (*anjin*) central to Zen liberation—cultivated by extricating oneself from discriminating thought, "becoming one with things" (*narikiru*), making one's mind like a mirror that reflects all things "just as they are," and "accepting and according with circumstances" (*nin'nun*)—undermines criticism of and resistance to sociopolitical actuality, and largely because of this mindset Zen Buddhists have accommodated if not actively supported the status quo. Ichikawa argues that this tendency was exacerbated by the "logic of *sokuhi*" and certain interpretations of Huayan (J. Kegon) Buddhist metaphysics, which obfuscated distinctions between the "is" and the "ought" and led Buddhist leaders and philosophers like Nishida to valorize actuality and certain particulars therein, whether the emperor or the imperial household. Ichikawa also called into question Zen views of society and

history, and in chapter three I explore his arguments about how such constructs as karma, "differences are none other than equality" (*shabetsu-soku-byōdō*), indebtedness (*on*), and harmony (*wa*) have shaped Zen's conservative social stance.

From there I shift to evaluating Brian Victoria's claim that Imperial-Way Zen was caused by the Zen connection to the samurai, swordsmanship, and the warrior ethos (*bushidō*). In the remainder of chapter four I set forth an argument of my own that overlaps with yet diverges from the explanations put forth by Ichikawa and Victoria. Noting how Zen leaders and institutions historically have promoted their interests through symbiosis with ruling powers, I argue that Imperial-Way Zen can best be understood as a modern instance of this "Buddhism for the protection of the realm" (*gokoku Bukkyō*).

In chapter five I sketch Ichikawa's analysis of issues that lingered after 1945 and investigate whether postwar Zen thinkers have reflected on their wartime political stances and on that basis expressed contrition, accepted responsibility, and criticized postwar vestiges of, for example, State Shinto, the imperial ideology, and imperialism. I sketch in chapter six the arguments that Rinzai Zen leaders and Ichikawa have made about how to avoid repeating their wartime mistakes, reform Zen, and start constructing a critical Zen social ethic. And to address the question of whether elements in Buddhist ethics may have moderated Buddhist nationalism, in chapter seven I examine the first precept, compassion, negation, and monastic values and argue that these possible checks do not necessarily provide an internal mechanism for criticizing the kind of ideology and nationalism displayed by Imperial-Way Zen during the war. In that chapter I also offer reflections on the resources Zen might offer its contemporary leaders as they pursue what they themselves have identified as a pressing task: ensuring that Zen will now promote peace and human rights and not be co-opted in the future. In that regard I consider how Zen might avoid political naiveté and acquiescence, overcome institutional embeddedness, and craft a prophetic voice, or at least a form of ideology critique.

In exploring these issues, my intention is not to paint Zen with the brush of "fascism"; to judge Buddhist figures for not fighting back at a time of oppressive state control of education, political speech, and religious expression; or, in focusing on Japan, to divert attention away from similar instances of religious support for coercive nationalism and destructive military escapades. I am not looking at Imperial-Way Zen with the "Allied gaze" that David Williams polemically attributes to Western scholars who raise questions about wartime Japanese thinkers.[7] My "gaze" on the issues surrounding Imperial-Way Zen derives from a broader interest in religion, ideology, nationalism, and imperialism, and I recognize that no scholarly writing, no interpretive angle or hermeneutical position, is free from bias. And though I focus on events that took place in East Asia more than sixty

years ago, an analogous critique can be directed at contemporary alliances between religion, ideology, and violence, whether terrorist or imperialist in nature.

Ichikawa was born in 1902, the thirty-fifth year of the Meiji period, in Gifu Prefecture north of Nagoya. His father was the resident priest of Kezōji, a small temple affiliated with Myōshinji.[8] His mother, Ichikawa once wrote, "was born in a family of declining ex-landlords in Owari [in what is now Aichi Prefecture], and she was a decisive, self-assured woman."[9] Ichikawa had one sibling, a younger sister.

Each autumn a group of young men from Ichikawa's village would enter the military. On the day of their departure, Ichikawa would be taken with his classmates to join other villagers at the local shrine. Village leaders would give speeches in celebration of military service as a way to repay one's debt to the emperor. The Shinto priest would read a prayer (*norito*) and wave a purificatory wand over the recruits, who, in turn, would drink a cup of sacred sake and offer obligatory comments. Their words, however, rang hollow to Ichikawa. Later in life he wrote, "I shall never forget the expression on the face of the eldest son of the family that lived next door on the west side of the temple when he made his parting speech. Even now, forty years later, his expression floats up before me in my mind."[10] After the requisite oration, the conscripts would walk with their neighbors to the edge of the village, where the headman and other representatives would send them off with a few final remarks.

These field trips were not the only part of the late Meiji educational system that made a permanent mark on Ichikawa. Officials in the Ministry of Education had begun reworking government-approved textbooks, shifting from the earlier positivist ethos of "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) to a valorization of imperialism and militarism.[11] Students only two or three years ahead of Ichikawa in school had sung songs about George Washington and read newspapers with articles about world events. By the time Ichikawa started elementary school the curriculum had changed: "From the second or third grade we were forced to march out onto the school playground with our palms pressed together before our chests, chanting in a large voice, 'The imperial nation with its unbroken line of emperors . . .,' as if these words were a *dhāraṇī*[12] or a coded telegram."[13] Ichikawa and his classmates were directed to chant most vigorously on November 3, the Emperor's Birthday (*tenchō-setsu*). As Ichikawa approached the end of elementary school his teachers repeated an admonition, apparently without irony, that made a lifelong impression on him: "Do not believe in superstitions."[14]

The officials in Tokyo who created the prewar imperial educational system augmented their ideological efforts by mandating military training in the schools. "What I disliked most," Ichikawa later reflected, "was the horizontal bar in physical education class and the 'military-style exercises' with a wooden rifle that were

required in fifth and sixth grade. I entered adolescence depressed. The rules and discipline of the military were terrifying, and more than anything I feared dying."[15] Confronting this militarization of his life, he could not separate the emperor from the supreme command to sacrifice oneself for the public at a time of crisis. "To me, a person of distinct cowardice, the emperor, soldiers, and death were a trinity. The three great national holidays, which reinforced my feelings about this trinity, were deadly solemn, like New Year's and a funeral rolled together."[16]

Ichikawa construed his "cowardice" and reactions to the emperor as physiological, as a manifestation of a frail and timid constitution that made him antiwar and anti-*kokutai*[17] by nature. As such a person he feared conscription, though when he came of age he was declared unfit for military service. He also feared the state and the commander-in-chief who could order death. In school, such lessons as "The old soldier Kiguchi held on to his bugle even in death" made no impression on him, for he felt no empathy toward heroes; but when he later heard it was rigor mortis that kept Kiguchi clutching the bugle, Ichikawa came to feel sympathy for him.[18]

While a student at Tōnō Middle School,[19] Ichikawa's antiwar and anti-*kokutai* nature was shaped further by a "positivist" history teacher and by his reading Natsume Soseki (1867–1916), Turgenev (1818–1883), and Dostoevski (1821–1881).[20] In his teenage years Ichikawa also came to recognize the gap between rich and poor in Japan. In particular he felt the misery of farming communities, and he started to embrace doubts about the flourishing of temples through the labor of ordinary people.[21] His growing sense of social inequality was deepened by his reading of Kawakami Hajime's *A Tale of Poverty* (*Binbō monogatari*).[22]

After heading to Kyoto in 1920 to pursue Zen practice at the Myōshinji monastery, in April of 1923 Ichikawa matriculated at the affiliated Rinzaishū University, later renamed Hanazono University, at which he studied under Hisamatsu Shin'ichi,[23] Ogasawara Shūjitsu,[24] and other professors. In the years immediately following his graduation, Ichikawa worked in the university's library and taught at Hanazono Middle School. He continued his studies of languages and Western thought[25] while also exploring the philosophy of Nishida Kitarō, which drew him to Zen. As he delved into Zen texts, he was impressed by a passage in Dōgen's *Zuimonki*: "From the outset, there is neither good nor evil in the human mind. Good and evil arise according to circumstances. . . . Thus if you meet good circumstances, your mind will become good, and if you are involved in bad circumstances, your mind will become bad. Don't think the mind is inherently bad. Just follow the good circumstances."[26] About Ichikawa's deepening interest in Zen, Nishimura Eshin has written, "In his renunciation (*shukke*), what he separated from was organizational Buddhism (*kyōdan Bukkyō*[27]), and after taking this step he resolved to re-enter the Zen path with full awareness of what he was doing."[28] Though Ichikawa did not

engage in sustained Zen monastic practice, he reportedly did have some sort of religious experience while looking at a bee.[29]

In the 1920s Ichikawa started corresponding with the still unknown writer Miyazawa Kenji (1896–1933). Ichikawa's son Hiroshi[30] recalls seeing in their home a first-edition copy of Miyazawa's *Spring and Ashura* (*Haru to shura*), as well as a copy of *A Restaurant with Many Orders* (*Chūmon no ōi ryōriten*).[31] Ichikawa also read the poetry of Ishikawa Takuboku (1885–1912), essays by the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae,[32] Hugo's *Les Miserables*, Tolstoy's *What Then Must We Do?*, Mikhail Bakunin's *God and the State*, Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto*, Jack London's autobiography (with special interest in London's work as a laborer), and Kropotkin's *Appeal to Youth*, *Theory of Mutual Aid*, and *The Conquest of Bread*.[33] Through these readings a "humanistic anger toward the evils of society and the state" took root in Ichikawa,[34] which led him to study socialist thought in depth and fraternize with leftist activists.

This political orientation was not without risk. Because of his writings, Ichikawa had several brushes with the police. In the fall of 1929 he was questioned by officers at the Uzumasa police station in Kyoto for publishing under the pseudonym "Literary Weakling" (*bunjaku*) an antimilitarist piece, "A Logic that Stinks" ("Namagusaki ronri"), in a small magazine back in Gifu.[35] This and several other essays also drew criticism from the head of the local veterans association and teachers in the Zen world. As a result, Ichikawa once declared, "The historical ominousness that enveloped the world of Zen struck home to me."[36] More than ostracism from the Zen world, however, what Ichikawa feared most about possible arrest was death from winter cold in jail.[37]

Ichikawa's leftist stance deepened as Japan marched to war. "In the mid-late 1930s," as he later recalled, "my social thought followed Kropotkin's lead, and my thinking about the war with China was heavily influenced by Hosokawa Karoku,[38] Miki Kiyoshi,[39] and Ozaki Hotsumi.[40] My orientation thus diverged from Sano Manabu and Akamatsu Katsumaro's 'One-Nation Socialism' under the emperor[41] and from the Japan-centered, world-historical view of war advanced by Nishida Kitarō and the Kyoto School of Philosophy."[42] Along this trajectory he at one point concluded that "if Buddhism is to possess social thought, it will have to take the form of B-A-C, Buddhism-Anarchism-Communism."[43] And as the Fifteen-Year War escalated in the 1930s, censored passages in the writings he was reading spoke to him of the suppression of leftist writers. After Kobayashi Takiji (1903–1933), the most prominent writer in the "proletarian literature movement," was tortured to death by the Tokyo police, Ichikawa's fear of state power gripped him even tighter.[44]

Reflecting his early experiences, Ichikawa later portrayed himself as moving in the 1920s and early 1930s through an immature period of trying to cultivate

himself, not an easy task insofar as his "vertical" interest in Zen and his "horizontal" social humanism lacked any "origin" (*genten*[45]) that could link the two dimensions.[46] He labeled himself "stunted," and once commented, "The polar opposite of this stunted human being was the imperial education (*Kimigayo kyōiku*) and military life, the pinnacle of which was the emperor as supreme commander (*daigensui heika*). To me, the emperor was a symbol of death."[47] Though in his youth Ichikawa had felt repulsion toward the trinity of mental, moral, and physical education in the imperial educational curriculum, he did not adequately grapple with his contradictory impulses to reject and to submit to this system. As Japan marched into war in the 1930s, with "stunted logicality" he stood as a unity on top of this contradiction.[48]

This unresolved tension even cropped up in his parenting. By the 1930s all public schools had a *kamidana*,[49] and in the interview component of middle-school entrance exams students were asked if their homes had one, too. Before his eldest son took the exam, Ichikawa purchased an especially large *kamidana* for his home. He dutifully followed government mandates and enshrined there a talisman (*taima*) from the Ise Shrine. About this action he wrote, "In a person who rationalizes that it was only for his child's success in the entrance examination that he worshipped at a *kamidana*, one cannot hope to find an upright, principled mind."[50] At the same time, however, on another wall Ichikawa kept a map of Europe, on which he kept track of German defeats.[51]

During the war his circle of intellectual acquaintances included Ogasawara Shūjitsu, with whom he created a study group. Nishimura comments that Ichikawa, influenced by Ogasawara's religious anarchism, "detested conservative, traditional Buddhist organizations while retaining belief in the revolutionary character of Zen."[52] And though he was influenced by Marxist thought, "he was not someone who could be pigeonholed as a 'red,' for his concern was exposing the feudal ruling structure of Buddhist organizations (*kyōdan*) and liberating Zen from the spell of those organizations."[53] With this agenda, he focused his early scholarship on Zen masters Dahui (J. Daie, 1089–1163), Bassui (1327–1387), Ikkyū (1394–1481), Takuan (1573–1645), and Bankei (1622–1693), all of whom had grappled with their historical situations.[54] Maintaining belief in the revolutionary potential of Zen, Ichikawa warned his general readers not to view Zen as a mere way of life or as something useful when practicing the paths of tea, painting, or the sword, and he admonished Zen priests to avoid representing Zen and Zen awakening (*satori*) as mysterious.[55]

At the height of Japanese imperialism and militarism, Ichikawa steered a course between collaboration and active resistance. In most of his wartime writings, as Ishii Kōsei has observed, he was abstract and vague, neither praising the

emperor or the war as much as other Buddhists did nor actively criticizing and resisting what was transpiring.[56] Nowhere, for example, in his short first book, *The Fundamental Character of Zen* (*Zen no kihonteki seikaku*), did Ichikawa sing the praises of nationalism,[57] and although this distinguished him from other Buddhist writers at that time, in the September 1942 installment of "War, Science, and Zen" ("Sensō kagaku Zen"), an essay he serialized in *The Great Wheel of Dharma* (*Daihōrin*), he suggested that the war was a holy war and argued that it was being fought by Japan to secure enduring peace in Asia.[58] Ishii has recently branded this essay a form of opportunism,[59] and if he were alive today Ichikawa would probably agree, for after 1945 he looked back on his wartime thought as lacking the tenacity and autonomy called for by the prolonged, high-stakes issues of that time: "Faced with questions of war and peace, both of which are momentous for the state, the populace, and humankind, I completely lacked the resolution necessary for thinking seriously about the issues and making grave decisions about courses of action."[60] Specifically, he saw himself as failing to put up resistance (*teikō*) and instead hitting an impasse (*zasetsu*) and committing ideological apostasy (*tenkō*).[61] He qualifies this self-portrayal by noting that, strictly speaking, "ideological apostasy" should be reserved for those who started out with clear, consistent, and publicly declared stances in opposition to the imperial system and Japanese fascism, as was the case with Senoʼo Girō (1889–1961), founder of the Alliance of New Buddhist Youth (Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei).[62] Ichikawa also portrays wartime Buddhism as going through its impasse and apostasy at the end of the war, when its wartime ethic crumbled.[63] And in the case of the emperor, his main impasse was his issuance of the rescript ending the war, and his main apostasy was his declaration of humanity in January 1946.[64]

On the heels of Occupation reforms of the educational system, in April of 1949 Ichikawa became a professor at Hanazono University. He taught English and lectured on Zen history, socialist thought, and current events. Unlike D. T. Suzuki,[65] his criticism of Buddhists for their war responsibility did not begin until the Korean War (1950–1953), and Ishii attributes this delay to two developments from around 1950: "Japan started remilitarizing as the confrontation between democratic and communist states intensified, and officials started pushing a national morality close to its wartime counterpart."[66] Ichikawa launched his criticism in the 1950 essay "On the Solitary Aloofness of Zen: Some Doubts about Zen" ("Zen no kokōsei ni tsuite: Zen ni tai suru gigi"). Later that year he helped found the Kyoto Religionists' Consultation Group (Kyōto Shūkyōjin Kondankai). In August of 1951, in the midst of the Korean War, the group attempted to hold a "Citizens' Evening of Peace," but it was blocked by a directive from the office of General Charles Willoughby and the Prefectural Committee for Public Order.[67] In the face

of such government pressure, figures like Kainō Michitaka[68] stressed the need for peace movements and issued the call "Band together, cowards of ten-thousand nations!"[69] This appeal attracted Ichikawa, for from his youth the source of his energy had been "a coward's realization of social solidarity."[70] At that time Ichikawa also recognized that neither the character of Japan nor his timid character had changed much since 1945 and the problem of war responsibility was continuing inside him as the problem of his own way of living.[71]

In October of 1951 Ichikawa published "Concerning Zen Praxis" ("Zen no jissen ni tsuite"), and this article, together with his 1950 piece on Zen's "solitary aloofness," incurred the wrath of ecclesiastical officials in the Myōshinji branch of Rinzai Zen, which started and plays a major role in administering Hanazono University. Myōshinji officials tried to remove him from the Hanazono faculty, and Ichikawa was asked to resign. Supported by faculty members who valued academic freedom, Ichikawa refused to step down.

Undaunted, Ichikawa continued his social activism. He collaborated the following year with Ogasawara to found the progressive journal *The Era of Thought* (*Shisō kigen*), though it folded after only three issues. He served as a member of the Kyoto City Board of Education from October 1952 to September 1957, focusing his efforts on developing high school education.[72] He provided leadership for a Hanazono student group that opposed the 1952 Subversive Activities Prevention Law (Hakai-katsudō bōshi hō), and at one point he helped students Nishimura Eshin and Katō Shushin start a peace group, the Society to Preserve Peace (Heiwa o Mamoru Kai), whose name was changed, at Ichikawa's urging, to the Society to Make Peace (Heiwa o Tsukuru Kai).[73]

Much of Ichikawa's thought in the early 1950s focused on Chinese Zen figure Linji and Karl Marx. He wrestled with the question of how one might subjectively embody (*shutaika suru*) Linji's "making oneself master of each situation" and Marx's notion of becoming master of oneself.[74] After Vietnamese Rinzai Zen priest Thich Quang Duc burned himself alive in a busy Saigon intersection in 1963 to protest the Vietnam War, Ichikawa renewed his efforts to unite the philosophical materialism of Marx with Buddhism, especially Zen.[75] This led him to conceptualize the tension and intersection between the vertical dimension of Linji's spiritual freedom in "emptiness" and the horizontal dimension of Marxist freedom in the sociopolitical realm.[76] In these endeavors Ichikawa drew from Marxist thought to start granting Zen a critical historical awareness, which the tradition had generally lacked.[77]

Ichikawa also participated in the 1965 formation of the Federation for Peace in Vietnam (Beheiren). His cofounders included social critic Tsurumi Shunsuke (1922–), novelist Kaikō Takeshi (1930–1989), and novelist and critic Oda Makoto (1939–), and prominent among participating Buddhists were Ōnishi

Ryōkei, head priest of Kiyomizudera, and Yamada Mumon, who later became abbot of Myōshinji.[78] Tsurumi has commented that from the founding of the federation until its disbanding in 1973, Ichikawa was usually the oldest person at demonstrations.[79]

Ichikawa retired from Hanazono in 1972 and, as a professor emeritus, moved to Chiba, where his son Hiroshi lived. Ichikawa had his name removed from the Myōshinji monk's registry (*sōseki*) and returned to full standing as a layperson. He began to pursue "Liberation Zen Studies" (*kaihō no Zengaku*). According to his son, when Ichikawa moved to Chiba he sold most of his books but held on to Ogasawara's writings, including *The Philosophy of Experiential Understanding* (*Tainin no tetsugaku*). Ichikawa died of pneumonia in 1986.

Ichikawa viewed his postwar scholarship as an attempt to investigate and correct his wartime myopia. Though his exact political stance had been ambiguous, he passed harsh judgment on himself, censuring his writings that had supported the war effort while downplaying his more critical writings.[80] In his last book, *Religion under Japanese Fascism* (*Nihon fashizumu-ka no shūkyō*, 1975), Ichikawa confessed that he was not confident that if war were to break out again he would have the courage to stake his life on protesting it. He wondered in Buddhist terms whether his attachment to the truth was greater than his attachment to his physical well-being: "The war made it clear that I lacked the kind of mental constitution that would render me unafraid of emphasizing 'correct principles' (*shōri*)—especially in the sphere of social ethics—and act in accord with them as an expression of what Buddhism refers to as fearlessness (Skt. *vaiśāradya*; J. *mu'i*)."[81] He also bemoaned the fact that at the time of the 1925 Public Order Preservation Law and 1939 Religious Organizations Law[82] he did not commit himself to investigating the relevance of the passage in the *Lotus Sūtra*, "Suppose you encounter trouble with the king's law, face punishment, and are about to forfeit your life. Think on the power of that Perceiver of Sounds [the bodhisattva Kannon] and the executioner's sword will be broken to bits. Suppose you are imprisoned in cangue and lock, hands and feet bound by fetters and chains. Think on the power of that Perceiver of Sounds and they will fall off, leaving you free!"[83]

Ichikawa ultimately saw himself as having been bound by fetters of his own: "Nowhere in me was there any of the freedom of 'when he wants to walk, he walks, when he wants to sit, he sits,'[84] or '[While living become like a dead person, then] do as you wish.'[85] This clear fact festered within my own war responsibility."[86] He elaborates:

> In my case, as *concrete* criticism of historical actuality became difficult, I read my expectations and hopes into actuality. I rationalized actuality

> and gradually forgot my shame over my dereliction and impotence in thought and action. My statements about historical actuality and my overall conceptualization harbored self-persuasion and self-justification vis-à-vis that shame. Consciously and unconsciously I made light of the rupture in society, and in myself, between appearances (*tatemae*) and actuality, while also making light of the differences—of content, structures, and fundamental principles—between the life space around me and the life space of world history, and because of this negligence my statements about public and private matters tended toward grandiloquence.[87]

Ichikawa explained what caused this negligence in the harsh social and political actuality of wartime Japan.

> In my case, under the system of full spiritual mobilization at the time of the "clarification of the *kokutai*" [in the late 1930s] I failed to study and maintain firmly the subjectivity that never gets entangled in any constructed forms and can freely create all forms. And in response to the rampancy of State Shinto I failed to develop an unwavering approach of "destroying falsehood and revealing truth" (*haja kenshō*). In other words, I cannot say that I investigated and practiced the thought and conduct of that which "is not turned this way and that by circumstances but makes use of circumstances everywhere" and "avails itself of its circumstances" (*The Record of Linji*). In the widening gap between appearances (*tatemae*) and the truth (*hone*), I failed to set up an internal dynamic of scrutinizing three related things: (1) my rationalization of actuality by reading my hopes into it, (2) the passive expectation that the irrationality of [present] actuality would eventually be judged and overcome by history, and (3) the claim that religion essentially transcends history.[88]

Ichikawa also acknowledged that he did not consider how he could overcome the irrationality of actuality and create history anew, or how he could link with others to engage in this praxis.

> I failed to reflect deeply on the fact that if religion is not an escape from history through the "elegant flowing" (*fūryū*) of renunciates, it had to pursue, from a transhistorical vantage point, *concrete* criticism of the emperor's stance, State Shinto, and emperor-system fascism during the

> invasion of the mainland. Nor did I reflect on the fact that a religion that lacks the kind of social ethic that can function in such an actuality is ultimately the self-indulgence of people of leisure, the shame of the Great Vehicle. In short, I lived from day to day with everything gray and vague.[89]

What stands out in this personal grappling with war responsibility, according to Yamaori Tetsuo, is how Ichikawa went beyond treating responsibility as a feeling and gave it a more rigorous ethical treatment.[90] Nishimura Eshin argues that Ichikawa's significance lies in how he drew upon thinkers in Asia and the West to criticize institutionalized Zen while also clarifying the foundation of Zen.[91] Zen scholars Furuta Shōkin and Hayashi Munehide, cognizant of Ichikawa's critical approach, suggested giving Ichikawa the posthumous Buddhist name "Scholarship-Surpassing Zen Man Hakugen" (Zetsugaku Hakugen Zenjin).[92]

Through his writings Ichikawa also tried to clarify the universal dimension of Zen thought, not as something conceptual and abstract but as something individual, expressed in and through particular humans. In this respect his approach was humanistic, as reflected in his construct, "origin humanism."[93] With its attention to how the individual stands in the tense point of intersection (origin) between the vertical "transcendent" dimension of emptiness and the horizontal dimension of social ethics, this construct, as Ichikawa's son Hiroshi sees it, was central to Ichikawa's thought.[94] From the perspective of Tsurumi Shunsuke, Ichikawa discerned "the rift between the world of interrelational arising, in which all things live resplendently just as they are, and the world of historical actuality" with all of its struggles, and he recognized that Zen had lost the "wild fox" spirit that can remain vigilant in the point of intersection between these two dimensions.[95] To stand in that point of intersection, embody that spirit, and make decisions was what Ichikawa deemed true freedom, true Zen freedom, including the freedom to criticize the emperor.[96] Exercising that freedom, Ichikawa devoted his postwar life to reflecting honestly on his own wartime shortcomings, raising the issue of broader Buddhist war responsibility, analyzing the causes and legacy of Imperial-Way Buddhism, and laying the groundwork for a critical Zen social ethic

CHAPTER ONE

Useful Buddhism, 1868–1945

Facing the threat of Western imperialism, Japanese leaders in the Meiji period dedicated themselves to what Joseph Kitagawa once termed "renovation" and "restoration": renovating economic and political institutions while restoring the emperor, on paper at least, to his position as head of the body politic.[1] They took steps to "open" Japan and promote "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*),[2] all the while recognizing the dangers of rapid change. With an eye toward preventing social chaos, they formulated an ideology of the "Imperial Way" (*kōdō*) and reconfigured Shinto to unify the Japanese behind the emperor. In these ways they directed the process of nation building that later devolved into expansionist militarism. Simply put, from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 until the end of World War II in 1945, Japan modernized to resist imperialism and then militarized to pursue it.

Okada Kōryū has divided Japanese religious history during these years into five periods. The first, 1868–1872, featured the advocacy of the "unity of rites and rule" (*saisei itchi*), the separation of Shinto and Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri*), the establishment of the Department of Divinity (Jingikan),[3] and shrine registration, all based on the policy of making Shinto the national creed (*kokkyō*). In the second period, 1872–1877, the Ministry of Religion (Kyōbushō) and the Great Teaching Promulgation Campaign (Taikyō Senpu Undō) attempted to consolidate Shinto and Buddhism behind a national edification program. During the third period, 1877–1912, government officials cemented the power of the imperial system and State Shinto, while ostensibly separating religion and politics. In the fourth period, 1912–1935, the state pressured authorized religions to foster "Japanese spirit," eradicate "evil thought" such as socialism, cultivate Imperial-Way Buddhism,

pacify colonized areas, and eradicate subversive religious movements. The fifth period, 1937–1945, started two years after the end of the fourth period and centered on the system established by the Religious Organizations Law and the full mobilization of religions.[4] I will devote the rest of this chapter to an examination of these developments, in the midst of which Japanese Zen earned the sobriquet "Imperial-Way Zen."

Early in Meiji Japan, government officials faced a daunting challenge. "During the Tokugawa period [1600–1867]," as Takashi Fujitani explains, "the common people had neither a strong sense of national identity nor a clear image of the emperor as the Japanese nation's central symbol."[5] To rectify this, officials in the late 1860s and early 1870s transformed the emperor into a rallying point. They formulated a "national creed" (*kokkyō*) in terms of the Imperial Way. This moral and political philosophy represented the nation as a patriarchal family and the emperor as the national father who embodied a cultural essence that had been transmitted down through the ages in an unbroken lineage from the Shinto sun goddess Amaterasu. As a descendant of Amaterasu and other kami, if not a kami himself, the Meiji emperor would now reinstate the "unity of rites and rule" (*saisei itchi*) that ostensibly characterized early Japanese history. In response, his subjects would display reverence, gratitude, and loyalty.

To provide institutional support for this emergent ideology, the Department of Divinity and its successor, the Ministry of Divinity, facilitated rituals for imperial ancestors and portrayed the emperor as a sacred national father.[6] Their successor, the Ministry of Religion, propagated the Great Teaching (*taikyō*), which was encapsulated in the Three Standards of Instruction (*sanjō no kyōsoku*): (1) respect for the gods and love of country (*keishin aikoku*); (2) the principles of Heaven and the Way of humans (*tenri jindō*); (3) reverence for the emperor and obedience to the will of the court (*kōjō hōtai*).[7] These and other constructs came to be woven into what Carol Gluck has called a "grammar of ideology,"[8] and by the 1890s Japan possessed what can properly be called an imperial ideology, which would be reworked and embellished over the next five decades.

In addition to its mythology, Shinto provided the architects of national identity with cultic centers—local, regional, and national shrines—that were deployed from the 1870s as "sites for the performance of state rites."[9] These rites were dusted off or in some cases invented, then made accessible to imperial subjects as the primary vehicle for emperor veneration. Shinto priests, reclassified as government officials on the public payroll, conducted the rites, expounded on the Imperial Way, and preached the importance of conscription, taxation, and education. Analyzing these developments, Sheldon Garon writes, "Although the regime . . . failed to establish an exclusive national religion in the 1870s, officials gradually transformed

local folk Shinto shrines into political instruments for inculcating emperor-centered patriotism and values of social harmony."[10] This revamped Shinto came to be called "State Shinto" (*kokka Shintō*), which the government distinguished in 1882 from "Sect Shinto,"[11] thirteen officially recognized new religious movements based on Shinto. "The term 'State Shinto,'" according to Helen Hardacre, "is used to describe systemic state support for Shinto from the beginning of the Meiji period to the end of World War II. It encompassed government support for and regulation of shrines and priests, the emperor's priestly roles, state creation of Shinto doctrine and ritual, construction of shrines in imperial Japan's colonies, compulsory participation in shrine rites, teaching Shinto myth as history, and suppression of other religions that contradicted some aspect of Shinto."[12]

To reassure other religions and Western powers about freedom of religion and to avoid charges of establishing a state religion, ruling oligarchs and the bureaucrats beneath them advanced the argument that this newly constituted State Shinto was not a religion (*hi-shūkyō setsu*) but simply part of the traditional ethos of Japan, and that rites at shrines were civic observances, participation in which was mandated by civic, not religious, duty. The portrayal of Shinto as the non-religious source of the creed and rites of the Japanese state (*kokka no sōshi*) has, according to Hardacre, "made it possible to argue that, unlike religion, which is based on individual conviction, Shinto is a suprareligious entity whose practice is among the duties of all Japanese, who thus can be compelled to support shrines, participate in their rites, and observe worship practices at home."[13]

The privileging of Shinto by the state, however, did not always serve the religion's interests. To support its portrayal of Shinto shrines as non-religious, the Meiji government had to play down their overtly religious characteristics. "The result," as Sakamoto Koremaru observes, "was that the sphere of clerical activity was greatly restricted. Priests were compelled to adopt a low profile [vis-à-vis religious ritual at least], and that led inevitably to problems in sustaining shrines and to genuine financial difficulties for their priests,"[14] who received only meager financial support from the state.[15] "With the exception of the Ise shrines and [major] state shrines, the remainder, all shrines of prefectural and lower local status, were quite incapable of surviving without engaging in practices that would be regarded as religious."[16] For this reason, Garon notes, "Government-paid shrine priests in fact conducted many ceremonies that could be considered religious—from weddings and funerals to offerings to ancestors."[17] They also performed purification rites and sold talismans and oracles. And for decades the spurious claim about the non-religious character of State Shinto forced ideologues into convoluted argumentation, especially as government officials in the Home Ministry responded to Buddhist and Christian criticism of the state elevation of Shinto. These patterns

continued in the Taishō period,[18] though it was not until the wartime mobilization of Japan and the creation of the Divinity Board (Jingi'in) in 1940 that State Shinto took on the characteristics of a "state religion" that were enumerated in the 1945 Directive for the Disestablishment of State Shinto.[19]

While formulating the imperial ideology and bolstering it with Shinto rituals, priests, and institutions, Meiji bureaucrats designated an unofficial national flag (the *hi no maru*) in 1870 and an unofficial national anthem (*Kimigayo*) in 1893. They created a host of monuments and civic pilgrimage sites. They crafted national ceremonies, pageants, and holidays, about which Takashi Fujitani writes, "Through rites the rulers hoped to bring this territory [Japan], which had been segmented into horizontally stratified estates and vertically divided regions, under one ruler, one legitimating sacred order, and one dominant memory."[20] To augment these efforts, government officials spliced together the trappings of monarchy, whether imperial portraits, Western-style military uniforms for the emperor, horse-drawn carriages, reviews of the emperor's troops, or imperial jaunts to see and be seen by subjects.[21]

Officials also mobilized public education as a vehicle for disseminating the ideology of the Imperial Way, promoting a predominantly Confucian morality,[22] and connecting students to ritual practices—both in school and at shrines—that elevated and paid proper reverence to the emperor. In 1890 they distributed the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku chokugo*)[23] to all schools and mandated that school children memorize it and, in classrooms and assemblies, recite it after bowing to portraits of the emperor and empress. Part and parcel of the newly constructed imperial ideology, the rescript valorized filial piety, loyalty, obedience, and self-sacrifice as the core values in an "infallible" moral Way purportedly granted by the imperial ancestors featured in Shinto mythology. "To today's eye," Horio Teruhisa argues, "the Rescript appears as a series of piously vague statements about the duties of loyal Imperial subjects; in the context in which it was written, however, it was a masterful formulation of the moral base created to mandate the switch in people's loyalties from family and clan to Emperor and nation."[24]

Meiji architects of national identity, as Fujitani points out, were engaging in what Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger have termed the "invention of tradition."[25] The tradition here was the "Imperial Way," with its recently minted ideology backed by other new constructions: State Shinto; national symbols, sites, and observances; and royal pomp. Nationalists erected the Imperial Way as the axis around which a unifying Japanese identity could revolve, and thereby pursued what Ernest Gellner is referring to when he writes, "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist."[26]

At the beginning of this nationalist inventing, the government issued a series of orders (*shinbutsu bunri rei*) to separate "Buddhism" from "Shinto." As had been advocated by Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843) and other thinkers in the Restoration Shinto (Fukko Shintō) movement during the late Tokugawa period, officials tried to remove Buddhist elements—clerics, images, and ritual paraphernalia—from Shinto shrines and Shinto elements from Buddhist temples. Together with this sorting, Buddhism and Shinto were reconstructed and reconceptualized as independent religions. As James Ketelaar puts it, "In the process of carrying out this 'separation,' it was necessary to define, even to create, what in fact 'Shinto' and 'Buddhism' were,"[27] for "Buddhism" and "Shinto" had existed inseparably throughout Japanese history, in many cases taking the institutional form of what Allan Grapard has termed "shrine-temple multiplexes."[28]

Buddhism was attacked at this time for having functioned as an arm of the preceding Tokugawa political order, for its foreign origins, and for its purported decadence and parasitism on Japanese society.[29] The period of most severe persecution lasted from 1868 to 1872. "The order for the separation of Buddhism and Shinto was accompanied," as Helen Hardacre has highlighted, "by the unauthorized plundering of everything Buddhist, collectively known as *haibutsu kishaku*, in which the pent-up resentment of the Shinto priesthood was unleashed in ferocious, vindictive destruction. Buddhist priests were defrocked, temple lands confiscated, sutras and paintings burned, and statuary and ritual implements melted down for cannon."[30] And as Martin Collcutt has written,

> From 1871 through 1872 the government turned from separation to disestablishment of Buddhism. The economic strength of the Buddhist institution was undercut by the abolition of the old networks of lay sponsors (*danka*) and by the confiscation of temple lands. Its social position was reduced by the abolition of ranks and titles for the Buddhist clergy. Far from enforcing the traditional standards of Buddhist clerical life as taught in the *Vinaya* [monastic codes], the government issued regulations permitting monks and nuns to grow their hair, to eat meat, to return to lay life, and to marry. Many temples were closed and some schools of Buddhism were forced to amalgamate or disband.[31]

Gradually, however, Japanese leaders backed away from this policy of suppressing Buddhism and elevating Shinto. In 1872 they replaced the Ministry of Divinity and its Shinto agenda with the moderate and ecumenical Ministry of Religion, and in 1889 they wrote into the Meiji Constitution a guarantee of partial religious freedom.[32]

During the persecution, Buddhists rioted in several locales, but prominent Buddhist leaders took a different tack. They maneuvered to make their denominations available and useful to the state as it worked to "restore" the emperor and renovate Japan. They portrayed Buddhism as an essential component of Japanese culture, as a loyal supporter of the emperor, as a constructive social force that could contribute to the building of a strong, modern Japan.[33] This representation was colored by Buddhist concern about Christianity throughout the Meiji period, as reflected in a statement that Shingon priest Shaku Unshō (1827–1909) made in October 1868: "Christianity . . . will come invading, offering to help rescue ignorance from the basic teachings of our Imperial nation. If we are to smash that demon religion, we must illuminate Shinto; and if we want to illuminate Shinto, we must have the assistance of Confucianism and Buddhism."[34] About the stance of early Meiji Buddhism, Winston Davis writes, "Institutional Buddhism responded to persecution by frantically proclaiming its loyalty and devotion to the [new] regime. . . . In keeping with its social base, the reaction of institutional Buddhism to modernity was conservative and often reactionary."[35] To represent themselves as useful, Buddhists first had to distance themselves from their social and political stance in the previous Tokugawa period. Early Meiji Buddhist leaders of all stripes advocated "washing away ancient evil" (*kyūhei issen*),[36] which consisted primarily of Buddhism's functioning as an arm of the Tokugawa government,[37] now discredited by the new regime.

Rejection of the past went hand in hand with reconfiguration of Buddhism as something new and modern. While "defending the Dharma" (*gohō*)—basically, Buddhist interests—and in some cases working to reform Buddhist sects from within (*shūmon isshin*[38]), Buddhists portrayed themselves as modernizing Buddhism in congruence with the state's broader program of modernizing Japan. The term "new Buddhism" started appearing in their writings,[39] and with this rubric some of them started movements to reform Japanese Buddhism. In 1894, for example, Furukawa Rōsen (1871–1899) and others founded the Woof and Warp Society (Keii Kai), which criticized the Buddhist establishment and called for "free investigation" (*jiyū tōkyū*) that could, in an "age of skepticism" (*kaigi jidai*), make it possible for Buddhism to respond effectively to the social and political conditions of Meiji Japan.[40] Though the society disbanded in 1899, that same year one of its members, Sakaino Kōyō (1871–1933), collaborated with Takashima Beihō (1875–1949) and several others to start the Buddhist Puritan Association (Bukkyō Seito Dōshi Kai[41]), which was renamed the Association of New Buddhists (Shin Bukkyōto Dōshikai) in 1903.[42] From 1900 this organization published a monthly journal, *New Buddhism* (*Shin Bukkyō*). The approach of these and other Meiji thinkers and organizations that fall into the category of "New Buddhism" has been

summarized by James Ketelaar: "Modern, or New, Buddhism, in brief, described a religious world view that emphasized the duties of citizenship, such as patriotism, loyalty, and hard work, and coupled these goals with Buddhist ideals of compassion, service, and faith or practice. This combination was then translated into socially conscious, politically astute, and communally minded organizations that were as devoted to issues of public health and education as they were to doctrinal exegesis and spiritual training."[43]

To support the government's "restorative" elevation of the emperor and the Imperial Way, Buddhists also appealed to traditional claims about the close connection between Buddhism and the emperor, especially as conveyed in arguments about how *buppō*, the "Buddha's law" or the Dharma, and *ōbō*, the "sovereign's law" or laws of the land, are unified (*ōbō buppō ichinyo*), interdependent (*ōbō buppō sōi*), and inseparable (*ōbō buppō furi*). We see this appeal particularly with Shin[44] Buddhists right before and after 1868. On the cusp of the Meiji Restoration, for instance, Nishi Honganji[45] priest Gesshō (1817–1858) wrote on the interdependence of Buddhism and the government, as reflected in the title of his major work, published posthumously in 1858, *A Treatise on the Defense of the Country through the Buddha's Law* (*Buppō gokoku ron*).[46] In the early Meiji period, leaders of Nishi and Higashi Honganji deployed such slogans as "the sovereign's law is fundamental" (*ōbō ihon*) and "benevolence and righteousness come first" (*jingi isen*), as well as the Buddhist doctrine of two truths (*shinzoku nitai*), to promote parishioners' accord with the Imperial Way and the "sovereign's" new laws. As we will see at the end of this chapter, these were but a few of the constructs that Buddhists lifted up in support of the imperial ideology.[47]

Meiji Buddhists contributed in other ways to the renovations deemed necessary for the creation of a strong Japan. In response to the characterization of Buddhism as degenerate and parasitic, and hence at odds with modernization,[48] they strove to grant their religion a social utility congruent with the interests and initiatives of the state by pursuing charity work (*jizen jigyō*) and social projects (*shakai jigyō*), participating in government-orchestrated campaigns to promulgate the official ideology, traveling as envoys of the state on overseas fact-finding missions, helping with the colonial enterprise in Hokkaidō and beyond, and serving as military chaplains. They further demonstrated their usefulness by engaging in prison chaplaincy, temperance movements, famine relief, and campaigns against abortion and prostitution while also starting schools for the disabled, hospitals for the poor,[49] programs for orphans, day care centers, and organizations for children, young adults, and women.[50] Priests served as national evangelists in the Great Teaching Promulgation Campaign. They deployed their homiletic skills to disseminate the Three Standards of Instruction, and in the process they upstaged

Shinto priests, whose oratory was less polished.[51] The Great Teaching Institute was established in 1872 at a Pure Land temple in Tokyo, Zojōji, ironically, the family temple of the Tokugawas, though in May of 1875 the institute was closed by the government.

To help officials gain knowledge of other countries, Buddhists joined fact-finding missions to Europe and the United States (1872), China (1873), and Korea (1877). Many of these envoys were from the Nishi and Higashi Honganji branches of the Shin sect,[52] whose leaders had been championing the importance of the sovereign's law (*ōbō*). Kiba Akeshi has argued that the clerics who went on these trips exhibited a strong "will to defend the Dharma" (*gohō ishiki*[53]), which was coupled with a "will to defend the nation" (*gokoku ishiki*). They also aspired to foster the national will (*kokumin ishiki*) of the Japanese as a Buddhist nation confronting Christian nations, and their argument that Buddhism should benefit the state (*Bukkyō koku'eki ron*)[54] would be repeated throughout the Meiji period.

Buddhists further demonstrated their nationalist commitments by helping colonize Hokkaidō. With government officials they shared a perception of Hokkaidō as ripe with possibility. In the middle of the Meiji period, "Hokkaidō still served as the repository of hopes in the modern imagination: it had vast reserves of natural resources; agricultural and industrial possibilities were still considered almost limitless; international trade in Hokkaidō was seen as the harbinger of Japan's participation in a global economy . . . ; and on the individual level, the possibilities of self-advancement were understood to be limited only by one's abilities and luck."[55] Seeing Christian missionaries as competitors, and competing among themselves, Buddhists reached out to the indigenous Ainu and to Japanese settlers and soldiers, "opening" the teachings (*kaikyō*) to them. Sōtō Zen priest Ōuchi Seiran (1845–1918) viewed the Japanese in Hokkaidō as exhibiting virtues necessary for the defense of Japan, such as fortitude and cooperativeness, and he believed that with some indoctrination (*kyōka*) the Ainu could be lifted above superstition and shown the light.[56] Higashi Honganji sent more than a hundred priests and funded highways in Hokkaidō (*Honganji gaidō*). About these and other Buddhist endeavors Ketelaar writes that "it is not so much that the farmers, fishermen, and Ainu of Hokkaidō needed Buddhism, as it is that Buddhism needed them to assist in its self-redefinition as an institution compatible with the forces of modernity."[57] That is to say, as Japan expanded its reach to the people and resources of Hokkaidō, missionary work helped Buddhism reformulate itself as "useful" to the state.

Buddhist proselytizing did not end in the northern islands of the Japanese archipelago. On the heels of the 1873 fact-finding mission to China, Higashi Honganji set up a branch temple (*betsuin*) in Shanghai in 1876. The next year it started a mission in Korea, to where it was followed by Nichiren (1881), Nishi Honganji

(1895), Pure Land (1897), Shingon (1905), and Sōtō Zen (1905) Buddhists eager to establish missions of their own.[58] As Japanese military domination and colonial administration extended to other parts of Asia, Buddhist missionaries followed.[59] To meet the religious needs of Japanese troops, Buddhist priests enlisted as military chaplains (*jūgun sō* or *jūgun fukyōshi*),[60] and by the 1930s, as we will see, Buddhist missionaries and chaplains were serving the religious needs of Japanese overseas and working closely with the Japanese military to "pacify" (*senbu*) colonized Asians.

The efforts of Buddhists to support Japanese troops went beyond chaplaincy. Leading up to the Russo-Japanese War, Nishi Honganji priests in Vladivostok spied for the Japanese military, earning them praise from members of the Amur River Society (Kokuryūkai), an offshoot of staunch nationalist Tōyama Mitsuru's Dark Ocean Society (Gen'yōsha).[61] Japanese Buddhists also chanted sutras for success in battle, provided aid to families of soldiers, and in some cases offered up temples as detention centers for captured Russian soldiers.[62] On May 16, 1904, at the Third Conference of Religionists (Daisankai Shūkyōka Kondankai), Buddhists joined Shinto, Confucian, and Christian leaders to form the Wartime Conference of Religionists (Senji Shūkyōka Kondankai), which proclaimed that the Russo-Japanese War was being waged by Japan for "eternal peace."[63]

The Meiji nationalism of leading Buddhists—their support for the renovation of Japan and the "restoration" of the emperor—found further expression in the organizations they founded. The Alliance of United Sects for Ethical Standards (Shoshū Dōtoku Kaimei) was established by denominational leaders at meetings in Kyoto and Tokyo in December of 1868. The first of the eight charter articles debated at the Tokyo meeting lifted up "the theory of the inseparability of the sovereign's law and the Buddha's law" (*ōbō-buppō furi no ron*). Satō Hiro'o notes that while this advocacy may appear to be a continuation of the longstanding "theory of the mutual dependence of the sovereign's law and the Buddha's law" (*ōbō-buppō sōi ron*), in earlier periods "the Buddha's law and the sovereign's law were seen as independent social entities that co-existed as equals," whereas early Meiji Buddhism found itself in a subordinate position, trying to get recognition (*kōnin*) and protection (*hogo*) from the state.[64] The alliance also called for the denunciation and expulsion of Christianity,[65] thereby joining other polemicists in ranting against that religion. They couched their criticism of Christianity in terms of "destroying falsehood and revealing truth" (*haja kenshō*), a rhetorical move later employed by Shin thinker Inoue Enryō (1858–1919), who crafted such anti-Christian works as *Haja shinron*, "a new treatise for destroying the false [religion]."[66] One can safely argue here that Meiji Buddhists' activism can be seen as an attempt not only to prove Buddhism useful to the state but to resist Christianity.

The Alliance of United Sects for Ethical Standards was only one of many late Meiji nationalist Buddhist organizations. General Torio Tokuan (1847–1905), a lay Zen Buddhist, started an organization with a militarist orientation, the Yuima Society (Yuima Kai), in 1881 at Shōkokuji, a Rinzai Zen head temple in Kyoto.[67] Three years later he formed the Society for the Way of Wisdom (Myōdō Kyōkai), which focused on indebtedness (*on*) and the ten good deeds (*jūzen*) and took as its first article the defense of the country (*gokoku*).[68] That same year, on the basis of theories of nation building derived from the *Lotus Sūtra* and Nichiren, Tanaka Chigaku (1861–1939) founded the Society for the Establishment of the Correct [Dharma] and the Pacification of the Nation (Risshō Ankoku Kai). Five years later, Ōuchi Seiran collaborated with Nishi Honganji priests Maeda Eun (1857–1930) and Inoue Enryō to found the Federation for the Great Way of Venerating the Emperor and Repaying the Buddha (Sonnō Hōbutsu Daidōdan), and in concert with this endeavor Ōuchi wrote *A Treatise on Venerating the Emperor and Repaying the Buddha* (*Sonnō hōbutsu ron*).[69] The head abbots of mainstream Buddhist sects came together in 1890 at the Conference of Buddhist Abbots (Bukkyō Kakushū Kanchō Kaigi) to discuss social disruption caused by Japanese modernization.[70] Other Buddhists, in direct competition with the YMCA, started the Young Men's Buddhist Association in 1892 and, later, a Young Women's Buddhist Association. In 1895, Pure Land Buddhists founded the Assembly to Repay [One's Debt to] the Nation (Hōkoku Gikai). Buddhists also participated actively through the 1890s in the Movement to Preserve the National Essence.[71] In 1905 Itō Shōshin (1876–1963) of the Higashi Honganji (Ōtani) branch of Shin Buddhism started the Selfless Love (*muga-ai*) movement, which taught the value of a life of service, and the following year Buddhist leaders formed the Japanese Religionists Concord Association (Nihon Shūkyōka Kyōwakai), which, according to Notto Thelle, focused its efforts on "promoting the prosperity of the state, and providing moral leadership at a time of confusion."[72] Kiba Akeshi has commented that while engaging in their activities, these sorts of Buddhist organizations "simultaneously infused their members with the national ideology (*kokumin shisō*) of loyalty and patriotism."[73]

In the midst of these nationalist activities and polemics against Christianity, Meiji Buddhists portrayed their tradition as a world religion, paralleling broader Japanese attempts to elevate Japan to the status of a world power that could hold its own in the face of Western colonialism across Asia.[74] Several of these apologists advanced their formulations of modern, cosmopolitan Buddhism at the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago. James Ketelaar observes,

> Buddhism in Japan, having only recently achieved some domestic institutional security, was continually seeking ways to enhance its position

> further as a harbinger of civilization and enlightenment. Entrance into the international arena of religious debate was seen as perfect means by which Buddhism could be proved fit as a vital contributor to the "modern" world.[75]

Clerics from the Nishi Honganji branch of Shin Buddhism were especially committed to this endeavor.[76] Priests such as Gesshō had gained fame in the late Tokugawa struggle leading up to the Meiji Restoration as "royalist monks" (*kinnō sō*) who supported the imperial cause financially and logistically and thereby distinguished themselves from their Higashi Honganji rivals, who had been given special treatment by the Tokugawa government.[77] It was at Nishi Honganji in the 1860s that samurai about to rebel met with nobility to coordinate their resistance to the Tokugawa shogunate. After the Restoration, with these close connections to the victorious side, Nishi Honganji lobbied effectively to reduce government pressure on Buddhism.[78] Through a request that abbot Ōtani Kōson (1850–1903) submitted to the government, this powerful sect was able to insert three of its members into the 1871 Iwakura Mission to Europe and the United States, one of whom was arguably the most prominent Buddhist of the Meiji period, Shimaji Mokurai.[79]

Shimaji came from Chōshū, one of the domains that produced the leaders of the rebellion against the Tokugawa government. Though known as a royalist cleric with close connections to Meiji leaders, he lobbied to protect Buddhist interests as the state formulated and executed its policies.[80] While on the Iwakura fact-finding mission to Europe in 1873, he wrote an essay[81] criticizing the Three Standards of Instruction and the government's approach to mobilizing religions,[82] and his stand was instrumental in the decision by the two Shin sects to withdraw from the Great Teaching Institute and begin positioning themselves in opposition to state patronage of Shinto. His goal, however, was not to remove religions from state endeavors but to convince officials to include Buddhism more fully therein. While later serving high up in Nishi Honganji, Shimaji supported the Movement to Preserve the National Essence and, in conjunction with the Association of Politics and Religion (Seikyōsha), he edited the nationalist, anti-Christian newspaper *The Japanese* (*Nihonjin*).[83] Though resisting Christian inroads in Japan and construing Buddhism as the proper religion for modernizing the country, he learned from the Christian example he had studied while abroad in the 1870s and tried to get his sect more involved in social and educational initiatives.

The process of investing Buddhism with social and political utility, of turning it into "useful Buddhism" (*goyō Bukkyō*), continued in the Taishō period.[84] Like their Meiji predecessors, Taishō Buddhists set up clinics with free or at-cost medicine and care, helped the poor and aged, established educational facilities for

disadvantaged children and the handicapped, and served as prison chaplains.[85] They assisted the Home Ministry in its efforts to improve social welfare, modernize the Japanese lifestyle, and curb leftist thought.[86] At the Conference of the Three Religions (Sankyō Kaidō), convened in February 1912 by Home Ministry vice minister Tokonami Takejirō, Buddhists joined representatives from Shinto and Christianity to support government resolutions affirming the Imperial Way[87] and efforts to "raise the morality of the people and improve social mores."[88] Sheldon Garon proffers the conference as evidence that bureaucrats in the early Taishō period were not imposing a rigid State Shinto ideology but "openly promoting a more positive religions policy" to secure the participation of established religions in government endeavors.[89] In 1919, tapping connections he had made at the conference, Tokonami solicited input from Buddhists on ways to handle the growing tension between labor and capitalists[90] that was evident in the 1907 strikes at the Ashio copper mine, the Koike coal mines, and the Uraga docks; the 1908 Red Flag Incident;[91] the 1910–1911 High Treason Incident; and the rice riots of 1918.

Several Buddhists were arrested in conjunction with the High Treason Incident. In this crackdown on nascent leftist thought and activism in Japan, police rounded up several hundred socialists and anarchists, foremost of whom was Kōtoku Shūsui (1871–1911). Twenty-six were charged with plotting to assassinate the emperor, and twelve of those twenty-six were executed. Among the Buddhists arrested and convicted were Sōtō priest Uchiyama Gudō (1874–1911, death penalty), Higashi Honganji priest Takagi Kenmyō (1864–1914, life imprisonment), Rinzai priest Mineo Setsudō (1885–1919, life imprisonment), and Shin figure Sasaki Dōgen (life imprisonment).[92] With an anarcho-socialist standpoint, Uchiyama had aligned himself with the impoverished tenant farmers living in the vicinity of his rural temple near Hakone and called for land reform.[93] In his most important work, *In Commemoration of Imprisonment: Anarcho-Communist Revolution* (*Nyūgoku kinen: museifu-kyōsan kakumei*), Uchiyama advocated that tenant farmers should stop making their rice payments, called for the abolishment of military conscription, and rejected the imperial system. Not surprisingly, this book loomed large in the authorities' decision to arrest him.[94]

In this midst of the turmoil during the late Meiji and Taishō periods, several Buddhist sects took up the problem of discrimination against *burakumin*.[95] In 1924 Nishi Honganji founded the Oneness Society (Ichinyo Kai), and in 1926 Higashi Honganji started the True Body Society (Shinjin Kai), both of which challenged discrimination. Although this was the first time Buddhist sects responded institutionally to this problem, individual Shin Buddhists had previously taken a stand. For example, Takagi Kenmyō had worked to ameliorate conditions faced by *burakumin* in the Wakayama area, and for his activism he was arrested and sentenced

to life imprisonment in the High Treason Incident. Saikō Mankichi (1895–1970), a Nishi Honganji priest, had publicly criticized discrimination and in 1922 served as a founding member of the Levelers' Society (Suiheisha). But Taishō Buddhists were not unequivocal advocates of the equality, rights, and freedom of all Japanese. Takashima Beihō and other New Buddhists on the faculty of Waseda University, for example, organized a rally in 1920 to increase public and governmental awareness of what they perceived to be the threat posed by such new religious movements as Ōmoto-kyō.[96]

Two new nationalistic Buddhist organizations joined the Taishō political fray as well. The Buddhist Federation (Bukkyō Rengokai) was founded in the autumn of 1915 at a meeting of head abbots (*kanchō*) that was held at Nishi Honganji in Kyoto. The founders of the federation aspired to coordinate responses by Buddhist sects to current social and political issues.[97] Two years later, in the midst of World War I, Buddhist leaders in the federation established the Buddhist Association for the Defense of the Nation (Bukkyō Gokoku Dan).[98] The goals of the association stand out in its mission statement: "This organization aims to promote and unify the national spirit and to fulfill its duty to revere the emperor, protect the nation, increase public welfare, and benefit the populace."[99] Led primarily by head abbots of the thirteen main Buddhist sects (*shū*)[100] and their fifty-six branches (*ha*), these two organizations disseminated an emperor-centered nationalism to parishioners across Japan.

At the time of their founding, however, the federation and association primarily directed their energies toward lobbying for the electoral eligibility of Buddhist priests (*sōryō*). The right to run for political office had eluded clerics because of Meiji restrictions on their political activity.[101] To secure that right, the Buddhist Federation presented petitions to the minister of education in 1916;[102] the Tokyo branch of the Buddhist Association for the Defense of the Nation appealed to the Diet in 1921; later that year the federation submitted to the Diet petitions with tens of thousands of signatures; and over the next few years the federation and the association sponsored meetings and rallies in Tokyo, Kyoto, and other cities.[103] Partly because of these efforts, Buddhist priests secured electoral eligibility in the Universal Male Suffrage Bill of March 1925, a week before the Public Order Preservation Law (*Chian iji hō*) went into effect.[104] Kashiwahara Yūsen argues that while Buddhist maneuvering to secure this right appears at first glance to embody the spirit of "*Taishō demokurashii*," it actually expressed Buddhist interests that diverge from, if not stand in tension with, the democratization of Japan:

> This movement had nothing to do with any possible awareness of people's rights (*minken*), for it is clear that the nationalism that the Buddhist Association for the Defense of the Nation took as its goal

> was in fact closely connected to an awareness of the state's rights (*kokken*[105]). Fundamentally, Buddhism possesses a transsecular otherworldliness, which, insofar as it is maintained, should give Buddhism the power to speak out critically and take the lead on political and social problems in the secular realm. But to the extent that the movement to obtain electoral eligibility aimed at securing power and authority for Buddhism by drawing near to the power of the state, it ended up reconstituting the predominant approach of organizational Buddhism (*kyōdan Bukkyō*) since the Meiji period: "protecting the country as none other than protecting the Dharma" (*gokoku-soku-gohō*).[106]

Over the next few years, Buddhist priests ran, usually unsuccessfully, for the Diet, though in November 1931 nine priests—three from Nishi Honganji—were serving in the House of Representatives.[107]

Apart from the activities of Buddhist sects and transsectarian organizations, individual Buddhists in the Taishō period pursued social and political objectives of their own. In 1915 Sanada Masumaru (1877–1926) started the "Buddhist Salvation Army" (Bukkyō Saisei Gun). From its headquarters in Yawata, and in competition with the Christian Salvation Army,[108] Sanada's organization targeted factory workers with a five-part declaration about revering Amaterasu, respecting and upholding the teachings that had been granted by emperors over the ages, expressing a loyal and patriotic spirit, discharging filial duty to one's parents, and working to benefit sentient beings and save the world.[109] With this strategy Sanada's troops aimed their forays at the mental state of workers, sidestepping the concrete social and economic conditions that made workers feel anguish in the first place.

Sanada did not have to look far to find other charismatic Buddhists with similar patriotic sentiments. A number of Nichiren figures rallied around the state, tapping the *Lotus Sūtra* and the nationalistic exegesis it had received over the centuries in Japan. Tanaka Chigaku revamped his Society for the Establishment of the Correct [Dharma] and the Pacification of the Nation and in 1914 started the National Pillar Society (Kokuchū Kai).[110] Through his career Tanaka advocated emperor worship and the establishment of a "national ordination platform" (*kokuritsu kaidan*). Reminiscent of Nichiren's advocacy of "establishing the correct Dharma to pacify the realm" (*risshō-ankoku*), Tanaka called for the adoption of Nichiren Buddhism as a state religion and the reformation and unification of the world through a unity of the Dharma and the nation[111] based on the *Lotus Sūtra*.[112] When he heard in 1919 that many participants in the Korean liberation movement had connections to Christianity, he preached that Christianity ran contrary to the *kokutai* of Japan and the government should therefore outlaw the

dissemination of that religion in Japan. Tanaka attracted many followers, including Lt. General Ishiwara Kanji (1889–1949), a core player in the 1931 Manchurian Incident.[113]

Another *Lotus Sūtra* devotee, Kita Ikki (1883–1937),[114] founded the Survivors' Society (Yūzonsha) in 1919 with fellow nationalists Ōkawa Shūmei (1886–1957) and Mitsukawa Kametarō (1888–1936). The society advocated patriotism, the liberation of Asia, and a restructuring of Japan along the lines of Kita's *An Outline Plan for the Reorganization of Japan* (*Nihon kaizō hōan taikō*, 1923), which advocated a form of national socialism. Nichiren priest Honda Nisshō (1867–1931) preached the need for accord between the Dharma and the nation and started several organizations for the patriotic edification of housewives, laborers, Buddhist scholars, and the population as a whole.[115]

With their nationalistic orientation, these and other Buddhists offered little resistance when the government sought to enlist their support for "thought guidance" (*shisō zendō*) at the end of the Taishō and beginning of the Shōwa period in the 1920s. On November 11, 1923, two months after the Kantō Earthquake, the government issued the Imperial Edict for the Promotion of National Spirit (*Kokumin seishin sakkō ni kansuru shōsho*). Echoing the Imperial Rescript on Education and the Boshin Rescript (*Boshin shōsho*, 1908),[116] this edict exhorted citizens to serve the nation through loyalty and filial piety.[117] To promote the edict's goals, in February 1924 the government invited religious leaders to the prime minister's official residence. Sixteen Shinto priests, the thirteen leaders of the movements classified as Sect Shinto, forty-nine head abbots of Buddhist sects and their branches, nine Christian leaders, and twenty-six representatives of indoctrination organizations (*kyōka dantai*[118]) were asked to help minister of education Egi Kazuyuki with "thought guidance" and the "promotion of civic spirit" (*minshin sakkō*).[119] After this meeting, the Buddhist Federation sent instructions to temples about what they should do to support the educational initiatives of the Ministry of Education. Those initiatives would be announced over the next few years in conjunction with other governmental measures to increase thought control: the Public Order Preservation Law of 1925; the roundup of more than sixteen hundred leftist intellectuals and communists on March 15, 1928;[120] the disbanding of the Communist Party, the Labor Farmer Party (Rōdō Nōmin Tō), and the All-Japan Proletarian Youth Alliance (Zen-Nihon Musan Seinen Dōmei) the following month; the concurrent expansion of the Special Higher Police (Tokkō)[121] into a nationwide apparatus; the June 1928 addition of the death penalty and life imprisonment to the range of punishments sanctioned by the Public Order Preservation Law; the establishment of a "thought section" in the Department of Military Police (Kenpeitai) in July 1928; and another roundup of leftists in April 1929.

The Congress of Japanese Religions (Nihon Shūkyō Konwakai), an offshoot of the Shinto Promotion Society (Shintō Senyō Kai), sponsored a four-day conference in June of 1928 with eleven hundred representatives of Buddhism, Shinto, and Christianity. As part of the government's attack on the "dangerous thought" (*kiken shisō*) of communism, Prime Minister Tanaka Gi'ichi, Minister of Education Katsuta Kazue, and Home Minister Mochizuki Keisuke solicited the representatives' help with further "thought guidance."[122] The conference closed with a declaration that the "Great Way of the Gods" is the unifying principle behind Japanese religious traditions, and with the approval of a resolution drafted by a "Committee on Thought" chaired by Buddhist scholar Anesaki Masaharu,[123] which in part read, "This Congress favors the eradication of Communist associations and the Communist movement, which are utterly opposed to our *kokutai*."[124] In September 1929 the Ministry of Education issued a directive to start the Campaign to Mobilize Indoctrination (Kyōka Dōin Undō), and on December 4, 1929, the ministry instructed schools on the proper way to present the concept of *kokutai* to students.[125] That year the Buddhist Federation resolved to help strengthen indoctrination campaigns that took as their goal the promotion of the national spirit and the improvement of daily life.[126] By joining the "thought guidance" and moral indoctrination campaigns doing battle with "dangerous thought," Buddhism shifted the bulk of its concern from Christianity to communism and served as a loyal soldier in the "domestic thought war" (*kokunai shisō sen*).

Buddhist sects made one of their most substantial contributions to "thought guidance" in the 1920s by helping the government control new religious and labor movements. Grappling with economic disenfranchisement and anomic urbanization that weakened traditional linkages between the laity and family temples in rural areas,[127] many Japanese had by the early Shōwa period joined new religious movements that provided a sense of belonging and an array of this-worldly benefits (*genze-riyaku*), and industrial workers had started turning to leftist perspectives and newly formed unions that promised relief from exploitation.[128] Sheldon Garon comments, "Whereas urban intellectuals and skilled workers flocked to liberal and socialist movements, the popular sects largely appealed to small-scale farmers, peddlers, shopkeepers, day laborers, and working women."[129] Other Japanese signed on to nativist agendas, for as Umegaki Michio writes, "New concentrations of wealth in big businesses, the plight of farm villages ripped by falling grain prices and absentee landlords,[130] and the collusion among corporate, military, and bureaucratic elites were the social ills against which deep grievances were registered by nativists of all stripes—from the agrarian ideologue Gondō Seikyō (1868–1937) to the rebellious young army and navy officers."[131]

Sectarian Buddhist leaders aligned with the government in an attempt to stop the exodus of parishioners to new religious movements, especially following the Kantō Earthquake and the bank failures of 1927. They applauded government measures to curb such new religious groups as Ōmoto-kyō,[132] Hitonomichi Kyōdan, and Tenri Kenkyū Kai.[133] And even though the Religions Bill (Shūkyō Hōan) of 1927 would have subjected not only new religious movements but mainline Buddhist sects to increased government control, most sects supported the bill, for if it had passed it would have granted them tax-exempt status and provided a mechanism for selling back at low prices to Buddhist temples land that had been confiscated during the repression of Buddhism in the early Meiji period.[134]

In terms of individual sectarian leaders, Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948) stands out because of the fervent nationalism he displayed throughout his career. The twenty-second abbot of Nishi Honganji, Kōzui received an imperial citation in 1897 for his role in encouraging Shin Buddhists to buy war bonds and make donations to the military during the Sino-Japanese War.[135] He was a vocal supporter of the Russo-Japanese War as well,[136] but soon thereafter he occupied center stage in financial scandals that rocked Nishi Honganji. Kōzui was forced to abdicate in April 1914 (and in August 1925 the same fate befell the head abbot of Higashi Hoganji, Ōtani Kubutsu [1875–1943], because of his profligacy and bad investments).[137] Undaunted, Kōzui continued to maintain a high and influential profile. He worked in various ways to promote Japanese interests on the mainland, and in the critical period of the late 1920s when moderates like Foreign Minister Shidehara Kijurō (1872–1951) were advocating diplomacy and parliamentary control of the government, Kōzui countered with belligerent, antidemocratic proclamations. He stressed the crucial importance of military preparedness and wrote in 1929 that "[o]ur imperial nation (*teikoku*) is currently addicted to peace and vitiated by cultural pursuits (*bunjaku*),[138] and this trend is horrendous amongst urban youth."[139] The following year he condemned political parties: "What I find offensive these days are members of political parties. Knowing only their parties, they know nothing of the imperial nation. . . . Some day an autumn wind will come and blow them all away."[140] And in October 1931, one month after the Manchurian Incident, he condemned diplomacy and advocated fighting, without fear of the United States, to promote "justice" and to protect Japanese interests throughout China.[141]

Although Buddhist sects from the beginning of the Taishō period increased their institutional security by supporting government thought-guidance programs and measures against new religions, they too faced pressures: Marxist rejections of religion, criticism by Buddhist reformers, and government censorship and restrictions. In the late 1920s Japanese Marxists started publishing a barrage of essays on the dangers of religion. Facing this onslaught, in the spring of 1930 the Buddhist

newspaper *Chūgai Nippō* ran a series of articles by Buddhist apologists, including Kimura Taiken, Takashima Beihō, and Itō Shōshin, as well as articles by critics, such as Takatsu Seidō and Hattori Shiō,[142] with Miki Kiyoshi contributing to the debate. This exchange spread to *Proletarian Science* (*Proretaria kagaku*), *Studies in Materialism* (*Yuibutsuron kenkyū*), and other Marxist journals. Ichikawa charged into this debate as well. In a 1930 article, "Notes on Marxism and Zen" ("Marukusu-shugi to Zen—Oboegaki"), he critiqued the arguments prominent Buddhists had marshaled to defend Buddhism from Marxist attacks and pointed out limitations of Marxist thought.[143] With this essay he took what would be his lifelong intellectual and moral position in the open territory between Zen and Marxism.

Several critics of Buddhism founded in September 1931 the Alliance for Anti-religion Combat (Han-shūkyō Tōsō Dōmei), which later became the Japan Militant Atheists Alliance (Nihon Sentōteki Mushinronsha Dōmei, also known as Senmu). The former opposed belligerent imperialism, home missionary efforts by Buddhist priests in factories,[144] the ideology of *kokutai*, the myth of the founding of the nation, the infusion of religion into public education, pilgrimages to shrines, and the ceremonies and holidays of State Shinto.[145] And while Buddhism and Shinto were the proximate objects of criticism by the Atheists Alliance, the ultimate target was the imperial system itself.[146] In November 1931, Sakai Toshihiko[147] and Takatsu Seidō formed the Japan Anti-religion Alliance (Nihon Hanshūkyō Dōmei). This group oriented itself around an eight-article declaration, which, among other things, condemned religion as a spiritual tool wielded by the upper classes, as a "poisonous gas" that prevented the liberation of laborers and farmers. The alliance also opposed contributions to religious organizations, prayers for practical benefits (*kitō*), preaching in factories, and religious organizations of all stripes.[148] Facing this criticism by individual leftist writers and the two alliances, Buddhists rallied in May 1931 to form a counteralliance: the All-Japan Alliance for the Defense of Religion (Zenkoku Shūkyō Yōgo Dōmei). This organization embraced the goals of "defending all religions that do not run contrary to the *kokutai* and disclosing the essence of anti-religious groups that take as their foundation Marxism and Leninism."[149] While marshalling this and other defenses, Buddhism also came under attack by Shinto ideologues in the midst of what they termed the Shōwa Restoration. On December 30, 1933, for example, Miyai Kanejirō of the Shinto Reform Association (Shintō Kakushin Kai) wrote a letter to Ōtani Kōshō, twenty-third head abbot of Nishi Honganji, about an essay Ōtani had published in that month's issue of *Chūgai Nippō* about Buddhism and the Japanese spirit (*Nihon seishin*). He demanded that Ōtani clarify the Shin Buddhist view of the *kokutai*, *Yamato damashii*,[150] and Japanese spirit. At the end of his letter Miyai claimed that Shin Buddhists "laugh that the talisman from the Ise Shrine (*Jingū taima*)

is like the rice offered to the Buddha at the family altar and refuse to humbly accept it," and that they "do not worship the heavenly ancestors of the nation" but rather "collect thousands of yen from good men and women to construct luxurious temples in which they enshrine and then bow three or even nine times to that blacky from the degenerate country India."[151] To ward off this attack, the editors of another Buddhist journal, *Central Buddhism* (*Chūō Bukkyō*),[152] enlisted forty-five Buddhists[153] to write articles on "Buddhism and Japanese Spirit" for a special issue of the journal.[154]

Despite the attacks on Buddhism by Shinto ideologues and leftist thinkers in the early 1930s, a rare marriage of Marxist thought and Buddhism occurred at that time. In 1931 Seno'o Girō founded the Alliance of New Buddhist Youth.[155] Although Seno'o had started his political engagement as a conservative Nichiren Buddhist member of the National Pillar Society, in the 1920s he became aware of the injustice suffered by workers and Koreans and harbored doubts about the social concern of Buddhism. Rejecting both mainstream Buddhism and the brand of Nichiren nationalism he had championed earlier, Seno'o took a critical, socialist stance, as reflected in the three-part declaration on the basis of which he formed the alliance:

1. We revere Shakyamuni Buddha and the highest character possessed by humankind, and in accordance with the teaching of trust and love between all people we resolve to construct the Land of the Buddha's Realm (*Bukkoku-do*).
2. We regard all existent Buddhist religious organizations as corpses that profane the spirit of Buddhism, and we resolve to denounce those organizations and promote a new Buddhist epoch.
3. We view the current capitalist economic system as contravening the spirit of Buddhism and obstructing the welfare of the masses, and we resolve to reorganize that system and establish the kind of society that ought to exist.[156]

Although the alliance's practices of revering the Buddha and chanting "*Namu Shakyamuni ya*" failed to hold the religious interest of members over time,[157] the group did speak out against collaboration between the military, bureaucracy, and conglomerates; the capitalist causes of the 1931 Manchurian Incident; government crackdowns on labor unions and left-wing organizations;[158] discrimination against *burakumin*; and the low wages of tenant farmers and industrial workers.[159] The alliance published a newspaper, distributed pamphlets, and hit the streets with petitions about these issues.[160]

In his own writings Seno'o criticized nationalism as contrary to the Buddhist doctrine of no-self and called for international cooperation in its stead. He viewed the traditional Buddhist monastic community (*sangha*) as a model for a communal society free from the problems caused by acquisitiveness, but he labeled Japanese temple priests "proselytizing thieves" (*sekkyō dorobō*) who supported the status quo by preaching personal spirituality as the cure for social problems while living off of hefty donations from the ruling class.[161] Not surprisingly, such criticism, in tandem with the activism of his alliance, called down the wrath of government officials. In December 1936 Seno'o was arrested, and in 1937, after five months of prolonged interrogation in jail, he recanted his socialist stance.[162]

In contrast with Seno'o, most sectarian Buddhist leaders continued aligning with the government's edification efforts and condemning Marxist thought. For example, in *Random Comments on Zen Practice* (*Sanzen manroku*, 1934) and other writings, Zen master Iida Tōin (1863–1937) expounded on "warrior Zen" (*bujin Zen*) and connections between Zen and *bushidō* (the Way of the warrior), self-sacrifice, and death as a way to repay one's debt to the emperor.[163]

Yet even with such fervent support from clerics, the government tightened its control over Buddhism and other religions. Gregory J. Kasza highlights this development in an overview of shifts in 1930s radio programs on religion, which increasingly dealt with such topics as *bushidō* and "the Japanese view of life and death":

> This transition from purely religious to highly nationalistic spiritual content was paralleled by the growing persecution of Buddhist, Christian, and even splinter Shinto groups from about 1934, when the state had run out of Communists to arrest. The same thought police and prosecutors who had worked over the leftists then turned on the clerics.[164]

Or as Sheldon Garon sees it,

> In yet another illustration of the "banality of evil," a repressive organ of state had run out of movements to repress. The Home Ministry had established a nationwide network of Special Higher Police units during the 1920s with the primary objective of destroying the underground Communist party and related groups. Officials of the Special Higher Police had so thoroughly annihilated the Communist movement by 1933 that they faced the prospect of drastic retrenchment. *Their* salvation lay in convincing the government and the public of the need for a specialized "religious police" to control that other social movement—the new religions.[165]

As part of an attempted "eradication of false teachings" (*jakyō senmetsu*), especially as propagated by "pseudo-religions" (*ruiji shūkyō*), that is to say, new religious movements not affiliated with religious organizations officially recognized by the state, the government swept down on Ōmoto-kyō for the second time in 1935,[166] arresting more than two hundred administrators of this new religion[167] and crushing the organization's main shrine and other buildings into pieces no longer than a Japanese foot[168] so the wood could not be used to rebuild those structures. The police also dynamited stone buildings and decapitated Buddhist statues.[169] There is a certain irony here, for the overall social and political stance of Ōmoto-kyō had been conservative, with its leaders denouncing progressive movements led by labor and intellectuals.[170] "By the time of its obliteration in 1935," according to Sheldon Garon, "Ōmoto-kyō had ironically become one of the staunchest supporters of the emperor and the Japanese military."[171] But the government, tightening its control over Japanese society in the face of growing domestic and international crises, deemed Ōmoto-kyō a threat, for it had secured broad popular appeal, called for governmental reform, and formulated myths that diverged from those being promulgated by handlers of the emperor system.[172] Leader Deguchi Ōnisaburō's practice of parading in front of the Ōmoto-kyō religious paramilitary forces on a white horse, reminiscent of the emperor on his high white steed,[173] probably did not help, for it was the kind of action that attracted the attention of Home Ministry officials on the lookout for lèse majesté. Ōmoto-kyō was not, however, the only new religious movement suppressed by the government. In 1938 the government arrested Ōnishi Aijirō and 373 other members of Honmichi, a spin-off of Tenrikyō that advanced pacifist tenets and a myth that indirectly challenged claims about the divine lineage and religious status of the emperor.[174]

In concert with these moves against new religious movements, the government issued directives in October 1932 calling for revisions of Nichiren texts considered disrespectful to the emperor. Later in the decade, mainstream Nichiren Buddhism, according to Murakami Shigeyoshi, while "ardently advocating emperor worship and nationalism, was brought to task for treating Amaterasu Ōmikami as a *banshin* (guardian kami) of the *Lotus Sūtra*; inscribing the name of Amaterasu Ōmikami on the lower part of the [Nichiren] mandala was considered disrespectful."[175] State censorship fell on Shin Buddhism as well. In 1939 Araki Sadao, minister of education, ordered revisions of *Essential Principles of the Shin Sect* (*Shinshū yōgi*), a Shin textbook used at Ryūkoku University, the university run by Nishi Honganji.[176] He rejected Shinran's use of the term *chokumei* (command, or imperial command) in relation to Amida Buddha, for this expression was now reserved for the emperor.[177] The following year officials censored twenty sections of other Shin documents, including writings by Shinran and his immediate disciples.[178] In particular,

officials in the Ministry of Education, armed with the 1939 Religious Organizations Law (*Shūkyō-dantai hō*), Article 16 of which allowed the ministry to censor religious teachings that did not accord with the imperial ideology, attacked a statement by Shinran in his *Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Realization* [*of the Pure Land Way*] (*Kyōgyōshinshō*): "The law of the priests is not to worship the ruler of the nation, not to worship parents, not to serve blood relations, and not to bow to the demons."[179] Officials also took issue with a criticism Shinran leveled at retired emperor Go-Toba in that text: "The emperor and his ministers, acting against the Dharma and violating human rectitude, became enraged and embittered."[180] The tensions surrounding Shinran's writings were heightened by Shin rejection of the talismans (*taima*) from the Ise Shrine that the government had recently required for all homes.[181]

Despite such governmental pressures, Buddhism was not rendered passive or stagnant. In the 1930s charismatic Buddhists tried to revitalize Buddhism, and their efforts constituted part of a "religious revival" (*shūkyō fukkō*) that included new religious movements.[182] Tomomatsu Entai[183] and Takagami Kakushō [184] delivered radio lectures in 1934 on the *Dhammapada* and the *Lotus Sūtra* respectively, giving rise to the All-Japan Truth Movement (Zennihon Shinri Undō) and its journal, *Truth* (*Shinri*). Tomomatsu and Takagami criticized what they portrayed as a vitiated institutional Buddhism. To remedy that malady and to offer relief from the existential anxiety that was starting to grip many Japanese at the time, they called for self-cultivation, especially on the basis of a Buddhistic "philosophy of death" that points to a true spiritual life beyond the duality of ordinary life and death.[185] At the same time, writings by D. T. Suzuki on Japanese spirit and Hisamatsu Shin'ichi on "Eastern Nothingness" (*tōyōteki mu*) contributed to this early Shōwa revival of Buddhist religiosity, contrasted by its exponents with institutional Buddhism's moribund ritualism of funerals and memorial services.[186]

As the 1930s progressed, Buddhist leaders persisted in their efforts to display their patriotism. They continued expounding on connections between Buddhism and such constructs as the *kokutai*, Japanese spirit, and Japanese culture. They started to revise texts voluntarily and reaffirm their political allegiance to the state. Looking at two examples of this, Kashiwahara Yūsen writes, "In conjunction with the problem of scriptural revision, Nichiren and Shin sectarian organizations (*kyōdan*) declared the gist of their sects to be 'revering the emperor and protecting the nation' (*sonnō gokoku*), and they actively supported nationalism. In this is revealed their religious weakness."[187]

Buddhists also promoted state goals through their social welfare activities.[188] Continuing the ministry that their predecessors had begun in the Meiji period, Buddhist prison chaplains in the 1930s directed their efforts at persuading imprisoned

leftists to commit *tenkō*, that is, to recant their views and convert to submissive political standpoints as a type of ideological apostasy.[189] In some cases *tenkō* even entailed conversion in the religious sense. Kon Tōkō (1898–1977), a writer who had been active in the Proletarian Writers Alliance (Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei), recanted his leftist views in 1930 and converted to Tendai Buddhism. In 1965 he became the abbot of Chūsonji, and in 1968 he ran successfully as a Liberal Democratic Party candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives.[190]

The nationalist zeal of Buddhists in the 1930s at times veered to extremes. Right-wing Nichiren figures such as Inoue Nisshō (1886–1967) and Kita Ikki influenced ultranationalist factions of the military that attempted coups from 1932 to 1936. A founder of the Blood Brotherhood Corps (Ketsumeidan), Inoue inspired the young officers who killed former finance minister Inoue Junnosuke and Mitsui director Dan Takuma in February and March 1932. Kita was executed for writings that contributed to the radicality of the young officers who plotted the coup attempt on February 26, 1936. Ōmori Sōgen, Zen master and past president of Hanazono University, had close connections to plotters of the 1933 attempted coup d'etat called the Sacred Soldiers Incident (*Shinpeitai jiken*).[191]

Zen figures also signed on to the jingoistic rhetoric of the time, with influential scholars and masters voicing clear support for Japanese imperialism and military action. In 1937, two Sōtō Zen writers, Hayashiya Tomojirō and Shimakage Chikai, published *The Buddhist View of War* (*Bukkyō no sensō-kan*), in which they wrote, "In order to establish eternal peace in East Asia, arousing the great benevolence and compassion of Buddhism, we are sometimes accepting and sometimes forceful. We now have no choice but to exercise the benevolent forcefulness of 'killing one so that many may live' (*issatsu tashō*)";[192] they added, "Japanese Buddhists . . . believe that war conducted for a [good] reason is in accord with the great benevolence and compassion of Buddhism."[193]

By the late 1930s virtually all Buddhists were properly aligned with the state. In June 1937, one month before the skirmish on Marco Polo Bridge that plunged Japan and China into full-scale war, the Buddhist Federation resolved to promote the spirit of national unity and cultivate "patriotic service and devoted sincerity" (*hōkoku sekisei*). Two months later the federation resolved to engage in "patriotic alms-begging" (*hōkoku takuhatsu gongyō*) on the 15th of each month.[194] On August 2nd, Rinzai and Ōbaku priests started "great alms-begging for the comfort of the imperial army" (*kōgun imon daitakuhatsu*).[195] In April of the following year, Nichiren Buddhists founded the Association for the Practice of Imperial-Way Buddhism (Kōdō Bukkyō Gyōdō Kai) as, in the idiom of its founding principles, "the condensed expression of the divine unity of the Sovereign and the Buddha."[196] Head abbots of the main Buddhist sects traveled en masse to the Yasukuni and

Meiji shrines, and the abbots of Nishi and Higashi Honganji went to Ise Shrine as well.[197]

As these Buddhists gave the state their support, the state called repeatedly on them for assistance.[198] After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, government officials worked to secure Buddhist contributions to "general spiritual mobilization" (*seishin sōdōin*), which consisted of policies aimed at increasing popular support for the war with China. Okada Kōryū comments,

> With the beginning of the war between Japan and China the government of the imperial system on the one hand expanded unrestrictedly the oppression of heterodox religions by means of the Public Order Preservation Law and at the same time mobilized the world of established religions to construct a fully-armed state and pacify colonized and occupied areas.[199]

Specifically, at a convention in September 1937 the government launched a "spiritual mobilization movement." Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro addressed the assembly in a room festooned with banners advocating "national unity" (*kyokoku itchi*), "loyalty and patriotic service" (*jinchū hōkoku*), and "untiring perseverance" (*kennin jikyū*). For the next three years the Cabinet Information Committee, Home Ministry, and Ministry of Education promoted this "people's movement," which consisted of patriotic lectures, publications, pilgrimages to Shinto shrines and imperial mausolea, send-offs and homecomings for soldiers, and exhortations to practice the martial arts.[200] Andrew E. Barshay regards this and similar types of mobilization as producing at least two outcomes: "mobilization in crisis, while it entails an expansion of state power, also heightens the people's identification with the state; the people become the state."[201]

Upon the enactment of the National General Mobilization Law (*Kokka sōdōin hō*) in April 1938, the government enlisted clerics more than ever before in its efforts to "harmonize the various aspects of national life necessary for prosecuting the war."[202] Officials in Tokyo asked Buddhist priests to solicit funds for the war and minister to families of those who had died in combat.[203] Over the next few years priests would perform funerals and memorial services for dead soldiers, console their families, offer guidance to groups of workers in mines and factories, collect funds for the military, give talks to promote patriotism, help people released from prison find work, and engage in other social welfare activities in coordination with neighborhood organizations (*tonari gumi*).[204] To support the government's propagandizing, Nishi Honganji opened in 1941 the Japan Doctrinal Studies Institute (Nippon Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo), from which Shin scholars published such titles as *The*

Essence of Imperial-Way Buddhism (*Kōdō Bukkyō no shinzui*) by Sasaki Kentoku, *Religion of Patriotic Service* (*Hōkoku shūkyō*) by Ōhara Shōjitsu, *The Shin Sect's Character of Protecting the Country* (*Shinshū no gokokusei*) by Fuken Daien, and *Defense of the Country through the Nenbutsu* (*Nenbutsu gokoku ron*) by Katō Bugen.[205]

The minister of education gathered representatives from Buddhism, Shinto, and Christianity in August of 1938 and requested that they each consolidate (*gōdō*) their respective subsects and assist with the war effort.[206] Two months later the Buddhist Federation, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, sponsored the Conference for the Propagation of Religion in China (Shina Kaikyō Kōshū Kai). At this gathering, education minister and former war minister Araki Sadao declared that "the utilization of religion for pacification in China derives from the fact that the propagation of religion is none other than the propagation of the Imperial Way."[207]

Such missionary activity was nothing new to Japanese religions. For several decades, as mentioned earlier, Buddhists, Christians, and members of Tenrikyō and other Sect Shinto religious movements had been setting up operations to propagate or "open" the teachings (*kaikyō*)—to proselytize (*dendō*)—in areas of Asia occupied or colonized by Japan, especially Manchuria, China, and Korea.[208] Buddhist missionaries had also been serving as military chaplains and catering to the religious needs of Japanese military personnel, civilian officials, and colonists. They performed funerals, memorial services, and other rituals. They lectured on the Dharma and ran meditation groups. They trained local employees of Japanese companies, housed Japanese troops, and engaged in surveillance of local people.[209] Nam-lin Hur sketches how the scope of Zen missions in Korea expanded from the late Meiji: "As time went by, Sōtō monks gained more confidence in their missionary activities and expanded their missions to include social projects related to recreation, education, politics, agriculture, and even commerce. Many Sōtō temples became regional centers that managed auxiliary social organizations, confraternities,[210] and educational institutions such as libraries, kindergartens, and Japanese language schools."[211]

A primary focus of Japanese missionaries and chaplains was "pacifying" (*senbu*) and "transforming into imperial subjects" (*kōminka*) the Asian peoples subjugated by the Japanese.[212] With the goal of overcoming the "thought problem" (*shisō mondai*) of communism and, more typically, hatred of the Japanese, they propagandized, erected temples and shrines, and performed ceremonies in accordance with the calendar of ritual observances in State Shinto.[213] In China, according to Ronald Anderson, chaplains "established refugee camps, gave free food to the homeless, and free medical care to the wounded civilians. They tried to win over the children with rations of candy, then taught them about Buddhism

and the Japanese way of life; they appealed to the older folk by holding mass meetings venerating the aged."[214] One of the main vehicles for pacification in China and Japan was the establishment of Japanese-language schools, which taught colonized peoples the lessons that "Imperial Japan considered desirable with regard to morality, attitude, behavior, and practical skills."[215] Part of the strategy to turn Koreans into loyal subjects of the emperor was the performance of daily ceremonies of allegiance at Shinto shrines, in which Koreans reverently faced the east (*tōhō hōhai*), the direction in which the emperor resided. In 1937 the government forced Koreans to start taking the "Oath as Subjects of the Imperial Nation" (*Kōkoku shinmin no seishi*).[216] Back at home, Nishi Honganji set up the Academy for Asian Prosperity (Kō-A Gakuin) in 1940 to prepare Buddhist leaders of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,[217] and in April 1942 Buddhist sects joined other religions in the Religious Federation for Asian Prosperity (Kō-A Shūkyō Dōmei), which under the chairmanship of army general Hayashi Senjūrō resolved "to sweep away all thought that is contrary to the Imperial Way, establish the culture of the Imperial Way, and create a sacred age."[218]

Overall, Buddhist religious activity on the continent was fraught with problems. Okada Kōryū has argued that while the most effective approach to religious "pacification" might have been to respect local traditions and recognize the religious autonomy of colonial subjects, Japanese evangelists throughout Asia chose a different approach, for they brought sectarian motivations to their missions and in the late 1930s their efforts were choreographed by the handlers of the imperial system and State Shinto back in Tokyo.[219] From the perspective of Kashiwahara Yūsen, their missions had clear ramifications for Buddhism: "Rather than preaching the cosmopolitan, universal soteriology of Buddhism, this proselytization argued for the superiority of the Japanese ethnos and the legitimacy of the invasion of the continent. . . . Sectarian organizations (*kyōdan*) engaged in this proselytization with an active sense of mission in accordance with the times, and they ended up supporting the system of Japanese imperialism established after the invasion of the continent."[220] In a more critical vein, Mukai Keiji concludes that Japanese religions, including Buddhism, played "the role of 'vanguard' for the invasion of Asia by Japanese imperialism."[221] As Ichikawa put it,

> In the major Asian cities into which the "emperor's army" advanced and over which Japan ruled, shrines were erected, and Buddhists, with the exception of a small number of resisters, cooperated destructively in the pacification of those areas as crusaders who "obliterated the self [the private] and served the public" (*messhi hōkō*) by disseminating the Imperial Way. . . . [And] under the banner of "the august virtue" [of

> the emperor] they shouldered the burden of waging one front of the "thought war" directed at turning Taiwanese, Koreans, Manchurians, and Mongolians into imperial subjects.[222]

And with regard to the three main objectives of the Sōtō mission in Korea—providing religious services for the military, transforming Koreans into imperial subjects (*kōminka*), and pacifying the colonized (*senbu*)—Nam-lin Hur writes, "Not surprisingly, none of these goals—which were promoted in the name of Buddhist compassion and non-selfhood in the tradition of Zen Buddhism—could survive the collapse of Imperial Japan's claim to 'universal benevolence' that had been premised on the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."[223]

A further determinant of Buddhist contributions to Japanese imperialism was the Religious Organizations Law, passed by the Diet in 1939 and enacted in 1940.[224] During the Diet session in which the bill was introduced, Prime Minister Hiranuma Kiichirō proclaimed, "In our country, the Way of the kami [Shinto] is the absolute way, and the people of the nation all must follow it respectfully. Teachings that differ from and conflict with it must not be allowed to exist."[225] To a Diet committee he declared, "Let me emphasize that all religions must be one with the ideal of our *kokutai;* they cannot be at odds with the spirit of our Imperial Way."[226] Education Minister Araki Sadao proclaimed that the law was necessary for controlling and mobilizing religions during a national crisis that demanded assistance from all quarters, including religion.[227] Along these lines, the law clarified the kind of "freedom of belief" that had been provided by the 1889 Imperial Constitution, Article 28 of which stated that "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to the peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." The sixteenth of the thirty-seven articles in the Religious Organizations Law similarly declared that "religious freedom" extends only as far as belief:

> When the propagation of teachings, the performance of rituals, or the conduct of ceremonies disturbs the peace and order or is antagonistic to subjects' duties, the government minister in charge of religion can restrict or prohibit the activity in question and, depending on the circumstances, rescind the government approval previously granted for the establishment of the religious organization in question.[228]

This legislation also gave the state the power to disband any religious group it deemed in tension with the "Imperial Way,"[229] and it required religious groups to secure approval from the Ministry of Education for appointments and from prefectural governors for monastic regulations.[230]

Armed with the Religious Organizations Law, government officials pursued several objectives. First, they tried to achieve, in Araki's words, the "healthy development of religions,"[231] basically the wartime mobilization of religions to assist in governmental propagandizing about the *kokutai* and Imperial Way, to promote the construction of a "defense state" (*kokubō kokka*), and to wage "thought war" in occupied and colonized areas. Second, officials hoped to increase state control and supervision of religions, especially "pseudo-religions," now categorized as a subset of "new religions." Though up until this time various new religions had been persecuted for lèse majesté and other crimes under the Public Order Preservation Law, with but a few exceptions they were now enlisted in the war effort. Third, officials wanted to consolidate religious organizations and thereby enhance central governmental control of religious institutions and activities. In the case of Buddhism, the subsects of the thirteen main sects were reduced from fifty-six to twenty-eight. Fourth, through the law, officials secured a set of guidelines for the administration of religion in colonies and occupied areas.[232]

As this law went into effect in 1940, Nishi Honganji administrators agreed to edit or delete sections of Shinran's writings deemed by government censors to be in tension with the *kokutai*. In October of that year they distributed to branch temples a tract, *Wartime Living and Shin Belief* (*Senji seikatsu to Shinshū shinkō*),[233] the foreword of which reads,

> We greet the 2600th anniversary of the founding of the imperial lineage and proclaim the creation of a new political and social system. This autumn we have become certain that the future of the Great Imperial Nation of Japan is truly bright. At this point, what should we Buddhists do? Our duty is extremely heavy.[234]

Mukai Keiji argues that in its entirety the tract "clearly hammers out the position of actively following the drift of the times and cooperating with the war."[235] Similarly, in the world of Sōtō Zen, leaders revised the sect's creedal statement, the new version of which in part read, "The purpose of this sect is . . . to exalt the great principle of protecting the state and promoting the emperor, thereby providing a blessing for the eternal nature of the imperial throne while praying for the tranquility of a world ruled by his majesty."[236]

After dissolving all trade unions into the Greater Japan Industrial Patriotic Service Association (Dainippon Sangyō Hōkoku Kai) in 1939, government officials took further steps the following year to control religious and non-religious organizations. They set up the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Taisei Yokusan Kai) in October of that year in an attempt to increase control over additional

labor unions, political parties, neighborhoods (now organized into ten-family units), and other social and political groups. While supporting the overall goals of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, Buddhist sects, led by Nishi and Higashi Honganji, successfully resisted efforts by the Ministry of Education to unify them, while Christian denominations were merged into the United Church of Christ in Japan (Nippon Kirisuto Kyōdan).[237] On November 11 the Jingi'in (Divinity Board)[238] was established in the Home Ministry and, as Sakamoto Koremaru explains, "The birth of the Jingi'in marked the first time that the government had ever officially added its weight to the dissemination of reverence for the deities. For the first time, that is, ideology had been implanted in what had been 'state Shinto' in purely institutional terms. Only now can we talk about 'state Shinto' in the sense in which it is referred to in the 1945 Shinto Directive."[239]

Though the official "spiritual mobilization" campaign ended in 1940, Buddhism continued to support the state's wartime efforts. In July of 1941 the Ministry of Education and the Imperial Rule Assistance Association sponsored the first Greater Japan Religions Patriotic Service Association (Dainippon Shūkyō Hōkoku Kai). Buddhist, Shinto, and Christian participants issued such proclamations as "[a]iming at the promotion of national belief, based on the spirit of the founding of the nation [by Jinmu], we resolve to dedicate ourselves to the completion of the fully-armed state," and "By giving expression to the true aim of the religion of the imperial nation, we resolve to advance the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and cooperate in the establishment of a new world order."[240] Surveying this and other dimensions of the war effort, Kashiwahara asserts that by the time of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, "The entire religious world had, as a collaborator with fanatical fascism, lost its fundamental religiosity."[241]

This loss finds expression right after that attack, when Sōtō abbot Hata Eshō proclaimed,

> December 8th is the holy day on which Shakyamuni realized the Way, and [for this reason] it has been a day for commemorating the liberation of humankind. It is truly wonderful that in 1941 we were able to make this very day into a holy day for eternally commemorating the reconstruction of the world. On this day was handed down to us the Great Imperial Edict declaring war aimed at punishing the arrogant United States and England, and news of the destruction of American forward bases in Hawaii spread quickly throughout the world. We gained a real taste of good fortune, and we must offer thanks—to the four groups of superiors to whom we are indebted—for being able to applaud the freshness of victory in name and reality.[242]

Similar declarations by other Zen figures abound in wartime issues of such periodicals as *Zengaku kenkyū*, *Zenshū*, *Sōtō shūhō*, *Rinzai jihō*, *Daijōzen*, *Daihōrin*, and *Chūgai nippō*, as well as in books like *The Promotion of Bushidō* (*Bushidō no kōyō*, 1942), in which Zen master Seki Seisetsu (1877–1945) celebrated Zen contributions to *bushidō*, obedience, and other martial values relevant to the "sacred war" at hand.[243]

After the Fifteen-Year War expanded to warfare with the United States (the front termed the Pacific War), Buddhists continued to provide assistance to the war effort, in large part by forming or participating in patriotic organizations. On January 12, 1942, in the abbot's quarters of Kenninji, Rinzai leaders founded the Rinzai Association for Patriotic Service (Rinzaishū Hōkoku Kai) on the basis of three principles: (1) promoting belief in decisive victory in the Greater East Asian War, (2) assisting daily life under the wartime system, and (3) organizing volunteer activities supportive of the public good.[244] In the fall of that year the association sent fifty-one people in a labor service corps to Hokkaidō to work with coal miners in Yūbari.[245]

In 1942 Buddhist sects also helped found, as mentioned above, the Alliance of Religions for the Prosperity of Asia (Kō-A Shūkyō Dōmei). Two years later they worked with Sect Shinto and Christian groups to create the Religious Unity League of Central China, whose vice chairman was Ōtani Kōzui. Under the direction of Japanese military intelligence and the China Affairs Board, this organization mobilized religious leaders to work with local religious organizations to pacify the Chinese and make them more amenable to Japanese control.[246] In June 1942, Sōtō Zen Buddhists started the Wartime Center for the Development of an Instructor Corps to Train Imperial Subjects, the main objective of which was "the increase of fighting power."[247] Its founding principles included volunteering for public duty, clarifying the *kokutai*, "guarding the prosperity of the imperial throne," training subjects of the emperor, and repaying one's debt of gratitude to the emperor.[248] That same year Nishi Honganji initiated the Patriotic Service Campaign for the Prosperity of Asia (Kō-A Hōkoku Undō).[249] The efforts of these Shin Buddhists were complemented by Pure Land Buddhists. Fujimoto Kiyohiko writes, "During the Second World War the Jōdo sect joined, in a certain Buddhistic fashion, in the patriotic atmosphere that reigned at the time. For example, it held a ceremony recognizing the Imperial Rescript on the declaration of the war, it conducted prayer meetings dedicated to victory at [head temple] Chion-in, and it organized women's support groups in each of its parishes. In 1943 it held a large gathering, the Great Memorial Service for Patriotism, to pray for victory and repose of those killed."[250]

Paralleling the efforts of these Buddhists, government officials continued using religions to pursue their goals. In September of 1943 they formed the Greater

Japan Religious Association for Wartime Patriotic Service (Dainippon Senji Shūkyō Hōkoku Kai). Headed by the minister of education, this organization declared that the "divine country" (*shinkoku*) could not be defeated. To promote this certain victory, the association enlisted the help of religious leaders to promote the "spiritual education" (*seishin kyōiku*) of the populace and enacted measures to expand Buddhist contributions to the military, including the collection of temple bells for their metal.[251] Such contributions were nothing new in Zen circles, for Myōshinji and other strands of Rinzai Zen since as early as September 1941 had been donating metal—not only bells but ritual implements, censers, vases, candlestick holders, kettles, gutters, railings, and other metal objects in and around temples—and had also been contributing wood since February 1943 and used cotton objects like meditation cushions since July 1943.[252]

Buddhist sects also participated in send-offs for troops, prepared packages to send to soldiers, assisted military families, and advocated the recitation and copying of sutras (a traditional practice seen as promoting the security of the state). In the case of Zen, temple priests performed rituals that centered on the recitation of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras*, a tradition held to ward off danger and secure good fortune. Sōjiji, one of the two head monasteries in Sōtō Zen, launched a campaign to have adherents brush ten million copies of the *Heart Sūtra* (*Hannya shingyō*).[253] The Myōshinji branch of Rinzai Zen, in conjunction with an April 1945 memorial service for Emperor Hanazono (1297–1348), founding patron of Myōshinji, and Nippō Sōshun Zenji (1368–1448), the fourth abbot of Myōshinji, donated two fighter planes to the military.[254] This was one of five major donations of weaponry by Myōshinji to the military, the fundraising for which had started back in September 1941.[255] Myōshinji was not alone in this endeavor, however. Temples affiliated with Nishi Honganji donated more than twenty planes, all of which were named "Honganji" (*Honganji gō*).[256]

In demanding revisions of religious texts, enacting the Religious Organizations Law, and consolidating religious groups, the government used Buddhism to help mobilize the citizens of a "Japan in crisis" (*hijōji Nihon*). Okada Kōryū construes these measures as central to the two foci of the imperial state's religious policy: using religions politically and disciplining or suppressing religious groups that did not accord with the *kokutai*.[257] As we have seen, mainstream Japanese religions usually did not resist these measures. Kashiwahara writes, "Right up to the end of the war in August of 1945, all religious organizations flung aside their religiosity and plunged forward into 'submerging the self in the repayment of debt and cultivating the spirit of untiring perseverance.'"[258] Focusing specifically on Buddhism, Kuroda Toshio draws a similar conclusion:

> Relative to the vast number of Buddhist temples and Buddhists, and despite traditional Buddhist admonitions against taking life, calls for peace from the standpoint of Buddhism were almost non-existent. Contrary to what one might expect, in the end patriotic attitudes that affirmed or valorized the war were most conspicuous. Some Buddhists prayed for the protection of the realm and the prosperity of the emperor, while others, employing such lofty Buddhist terminology as "the attainment of enlightenment through living and dying" (*shōji tokugo*) and "not being reluctant to lose one's life" (*fushaku shinmyō*), affirmed participation in the war of invasion. On the whole, Japanese Buddhism lost the ability to engage in true religious reflection and praxis.[259]

There were exceptions, however. In addition to Seno'o Girō, several Buddhists did voice opposition to Japanese imperialism and belligerence. Brian Victoria cites antiwar statements by Pure Land priest Ono Onyū, Sōtō priest Kondō Genkō, and Shin priest Takenaka Shōgan.[260] A Nichiren Buddhist lay movement, the Value-Creation Education Society (Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai, later Sōka Gakkai), elevated the *Lotus Sūtra* above State Shinto and the imperial system, resisted government interference and regulation, and refused to consolidate with the Nichiren sect or observe ceremonies of State Shinto.[261] Like Shin Buddhists, they also rejected veneration of the Ise talisman (*taima*), a stance about which Murakami Shigeyoshi writes, "In the Nichiren Shōshū doctrine, as long as the righteous law (*shōbō*) is not being observed, the various kami retreat to heaven and even Ise Shrine is nothing but a den of goblins; accepting the Ise talisman would therefore be slanderous to the Lotus Sūtra."[262] In 1943, with the wartime fate of Japan becoming clearer, members of the society proceeded to "admonish the nation" to follow the "righteous law" of the *Lotus Sūtra*.[263] Despite the nationalism of this group, their beliefs about the ultimacy of the *Lotus Sūtra* led to arrests for violation of the Public Order Preservation Law and for lèse majesté.[264] Founder Makiguchi Tsunesaburō (1871–1944) was among those arrested. Steadfastly refusing to recant his faith in the primacy of the *Lotus Sūtra*, he died in prison before Japan emerged from what some Japanese have called the "dark valley" of the early Shōwa period.

The Buddhist leaders who made themselves useful in the creation of a modern nation-state and the establishment of an empire also promoted the imperial ideology that emerged in the decades following the Meiji Restoration and was developed up through the early Shōwa period. With their sermons, public lectures, and writings, they celebrated the core constructs in that ideology, in large part by linking them to Buddhist doctrines. This discursive trajectory led Buddhists to justify, if not valorize, the violence of war.

During the Meiji period, as sketched earlier, government officials, Shinto ideologues, military figures, and local leaders formulated a set of doctrines, moral values, cultic practices, and institutional structures that elevated the emperor as the central locus of identity and allegiance in a rapidly modernizing and militarizing Japan. The government authors of the Three Standards of Instruction in 1868 exhorted the emperor's subjects to "respect the gods and love the nation" and "revere the emperor and obey the will of the court." The Imperial Rescript to Soldiers (*Gunjin chokuyū*, 1882) characterized the military as operating under the command of the emperor ever since Jinmu "more than twenty-five centuries" earlier "subjugated the unruly tribes of the land and ascended the Imperial Throne to rule over the whole country."[265] The 1889 constitution began with the line, "The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal," and Article 3 exalted the emperor as "sacred and inviolable." One year later the Imperial Rescript on Education informed schoolchildren, "Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire" and bequeathed a moral Way that is "infallible for all ages and true in all places" and constitutes the "glory of the fundamental character (*kokutai*)" of that empire.[266]

The Imperial Way and the *kokutai* were gradually amplified into a full-blown ideology about the emperor and his subjects. At first less a polished political philosophy than a patchwork civic morality, the emergent imperial ideology found expression in a variety of Meiji sites, whether the "national morality" (*kokumin dōtoku*) advanced by Tokyo Imperial University philosopher Inoue Tetsujirō[267] or textbooks on ethics (*shūshin*), which from 1903 disseminated the imperial ideology in schools.[268] As Horio Teruhisa notes, "the Meiji leaders decided to make the Emperor the foundation of a new national morality, and to this end they transformed the ancient mythic beliefs in 'a single line of emperors from time immemorial' (*bansei ikkei*) and the 'essential national polity' (*kokutai*) into the foundations of a modern reactionary ideology."[269] Up until 1945 this ideology was disseminated by schools, government ministries, Buddhist denominations, military reservist organizations, indoctrination campaigns, and a host of other institutions and practices.

It is important to note here that the reigning imperial ideology, though increasingly rigid and coercive, was neither monolithic at any point in time nor unchanging through time. It was polysemic, shifting, and contested. Carol Gluck comments that "the view from 1945 backward across the imperial decades understandably exaggerated the power of ideological orthodoxy. In part this is because the postwar commitment to an utterly different future required a prompt identification of the forces responsible for the cataclysm of the immediate past. In this context ideology, so palpably potent and distasteful, was reified, given a substance, a prominence, and even an efficacy that it may not in fact have possessed."[270] This

observation corresponds with what Terry Eagleton has observed about ideologies more broadly: "Ideologies are usually internally complex, differentiated formations, with conflicts between their various elements which need to be continually renegotiated and resolved."[271]

That being said, after the 1931 Manchurian Incident, government officials sorted through those elements to refine and codify the imperial ideology, which found expression in textbooks, imperial edicts, government proclamations, essays, and religious talks. Arguably the main early Shōwa articulation of the imperial ideology was *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai* (*Kokutai no hongi*, 1937),[272] a textbook promulgated by the Thought Bureau of the Ministry of Education.[273] The motifs in *Fundamental Principles* would be echoed in *The Way of Subjects* (*Shinmin no michi*), a text disseminated in 1941 by the Ministry of Education, and the *Field Service Code* (*Senjinkun*), a short tract presented in January 1941 to the Japanese by war minister Tōjō Hideki and carried by soldiers into battle.

Occupying center stage in the wartime imperial ideology is the representation of the emperor as descended in an "unbroken lineage" from the sun goddess Amaterasu. *Fundamental Principles* begins, "Having received the oracle of the imperial ancestor, the emperors, in an unbroken lineage, reign eternally over the great Japanese empire. This is our everlasting and immutable *kokutai*."[274] The text explains to schoolchildren, "Our country is established with the emperor, who is a descendant of Amaterasu Ōmikami, as her center, and our ancestors as well as we ourselves constantly have beheld in the emperor the fountainhead of her life and activities."[275] Early Shōwa discourse further represents the emperor as not simply Amaterasu's descendant but a Shinto god himself, a "living deity" (*iki-gami*) or "manifest deity" (*arahito-gami*). With this elevated status, he functions as the national patriarch, a benevolent father to the Japanese. "The Emperor," according to *The Way of Subjects*, "loves His subjects with a paternal heart, and the subjects serve the Emperor with a spirit of bowing to their great father."[276]

Around the imperial household stands each particular household, the life of which begins "with the distant ancestors, and is carried on eternally by the descendants" as another unbroken chain.[277] Each family lineage parallels the imperial lineage, with family ancestors analogous—and ultimately related—to the imperial ancestors described in the mythic dramas of the *Kojiki* (712) and *Nihon-shoki* (720).[278] As a whole, Japan constitutes a "great-family nation-state" (*dai-kazoku kokka*).[279] In this organic community, individual households (*ie*[280]) function as microcosms of the macrocosmic *kokka*, "national household" or nation-state,[281] and each father, familial patriarch in the home, functions as an analogue to the emperor, the national patriarch of the nation-state. As *The Way of Subjects* puts it, "Japan, since the founding of the Empire, has been basking under a benign rule

of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal, and has been growing and developing in an atmosphere of great harmony as a nation consisting of one large family."[282] The authors of *Fundamental Principles* granted the naturalized state gestational power as a "nuclear existence that gives birth to individual beings."[283] *The Way of Subjects* chooses another originary metaphor, claiming that "[t]he Imperial Family is the fountain source of the Japanese nation, and national and private lives issue from this."[284] And this Japanese nation[285] resided in a *shinkoku*, a "divine country" or "country of the gods."

Playing a central role in this fecund national family are the Confucian virtues of loyalty (and the "Way of loyalty"[286]), filial piety ("a Way of the highest importance"[287]), and harmony (a "harmony of individuals who . . . converge into one"[288]). The *Field Service Code* teaches soldiers, "Loyalty and filial piety, as one, form the essence of our morality."[289] *The Way of Subjects* celebrates how "the subjects of the Emperor, with one mind, fulfill their way of loyalty and filial piety and support the Imperial tasks."[290] *Fundamental Principles* regards the Japanese children-subjects as thereby manifesting the "pure, cloudless heart" (*akaki kokoro*)[291] championed by Shinto, a heart that reveres the emperor, other Shinto deities, and one's ancestors. Ethics textbooks emphasize such virtues as courage, loyalty, duty, honesty, thrift, diligence, benevolence, gratitude, proper decorum, order, patience, and calm.[292] All told, however, the cardinal virtues in this imperial ideology are loyalty and patriotism, as encapsulated in the expression "loyalty to the emperor and love of country" (*chūkun aikoku*).

Also prominent is the Confucian notion of benevolent emperors bestowing benefits on indebted subjects who respond to those blessings by feeling indebted, grateful, and eager to repay that debt through loyal service to and self-sacrifice for the emperor (or the "public," i.e., the state). The emperor's benevolent concern and blessings are termed, respectively, *jin*[293] or *jin'ai*, and *on* or *ontaku*. The subject's grateful response is conveyed by such constructs as "loyalty to the emperor and love of country," "obliterating the self and serving the public," "guarding and maintaining the Imperial Throne coexistent with Heaven and Earth,"[294] and, as the Imperial Rescript on Education puts it, "offering oneself courageously to the State, and thus guarding and maintaining the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth."[295]

In their celebration of submissive abnegation if not self-sacrifice, even unto death, these early Shōwa ideological tracts link Confucian loyalty to Buddhist self-denial. In language reminiscent of Buddhist texts, *Fundamental Principles* advocates "dying to one's ego and one's own ends," exhibiting "self-effacement (*botsu'ga*) and disinterestedness," "living to the great, true self by denying one's small self," and "effacing the self and returning to the One" (*botsu'ga ki'itchi*).[296]

The *Field Service Code* includes the passage, "That which penetrates life and death is the lofty spirit of self-sacrifice for the public good. Transcending life and death, earnestly rush forward to accomplish your duty."[297] In linking the ego's spiritual death to the body's physical death, these exhortations echo a directive in the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers: "The soldier and sailor should consider loyalty their essential duty. . . . with single heart fulfill your essential duty of loyalty, and bear in mind that duty is heavier than a mountain and death is lighter than a feather."[298] With these emphases, the authors of early Shōwa ideological texts, not surprisingly, celebrate *bushidō*, the Way of warriors: "Our nation is one that holds *bushidō* in high regard, and there are shrines deifying warlike spirits"; "Our martial spirit does not have for its objective the killing of men, but the giving of life to men";[299] and when steeped in *bushidō* one can "meet death with perfect calmness."[300]

The character of Japan as one family, headed by a national patriarch who is a descendant of the gods and unified by an array of core values and practices, especially self-sacrifice as a repayment of debt, constitutes the essence of Japan, its basic constitution—its *kokutai*. This essential national structure (*kokutai*) is seen by ideologues as eternal and immutable, in contrast with the changing political structure (*seitai*).[301]

In setting forth this ideology, early Shōwa texts convey a sense of urgency and crisis in the face of a "conflict seen in our people's ideas, the unrest of their modes of life, the confused state of their civilization."[302] This conflict, unrest, and confusion is attributed to careless acceptance of Western philosophical orientations, especially rationalism, positivism, socialism, anarchism, and communism, as well as such constructs as liberty, equality, rights, and an abstract world "transcending nations and races."[303] *The Way of Subjects* singles out individualism, liberalism, utilitarianism, and materialism as undermining "the virtuous habits and customs bequeathed by our ancestors."[304] *Fundamental Principles* boils the threat down to individualism, whether "individualistic tendencies" or full egoism, which "virtually provokes the setting up of an individual against an individual and classes against classes, and foments many problems and disturbances in the national and social life."[305] This individualism purportedly so dear to the "West" stands in stark contrast to the natural harmony and familial intimacy permeating Japan.

Japanese are called on to clarify the true nature of the *kokutai* and thereby start correcting the "evils brought about by individualism."[306] This does not require a blanket rejection of the West, for as the *Fundamental Principles* tells its student readers, "Our present mission as a people is to build up a new Japanese culture by adopting and sublimating Western cultures with our *kokutai* as the basis, and to contribute spontaneously to the advancement of world culture."[307] This global contribution, however, displays parochial colors: "Our contributions to the world lie

only in giving full play more than ever to our Way, which is of the Japanese people. The people must more than ever create and develop a new Japan by virtue of their immutable *kokutai*, which is the basis of the state, and by virtue of the Way of the Empire, which stands firm throughout the ages at home and abroad, and thereby more than ever guard and maintain the prosperity of the Imperial Throne, which is coeval with heaven and earth. This, indeed, is our mission."[308]

The geographical scope of this mission extended beyond the archipelago: "Japan is the source of the Yamato race, Manchukuo is its reservoir, and East Asia is its paddy field."[309] And with the Manchurian Incident of 1931, "Japan in the glare of all the Powers stepped out for the creation of a world based on moral principles and the construction of a new order. This was a manifestation of the spirit, profound and lofty, embodied in the Empire-founding, and an unavoidable action for its national life and mission."[310] This incident, of course, launched fifteen years of war against China, one of the areas subjugated by Europeans in the old order, a bothersome detail *The Way of Subjects* handles by declaring, "The objective of the China Affair is to enlighten China, to strengthen Sino-Japanese unity, and to realize co-existence and co-prosperity, thereby building up a new order in East Asia and contributing to the consummation of world peace."[311]

In sum, the polished version of the imperial ideology consisted of claims about the cosmogonic and axiological function of the imperial ancestors; an unbroken dynastic lineage stretching from Amaterasu to the current emperor; the emperor as a "manifest" or "living" deity; Japan as a "great family nation-state" led by the patriarchal emperor; individual households functioning as microcosms of the macrocosmic *kokka*, "national household" or nation-state, with each father, familial patriarch in the home, functioning as an analogue to the emperor, the national patriarch of the nation-state; benevolent emperors bestowing benefits on indebted subjects who respond to those blessings by feeling indebted, grateful, and eager to repay that debt through self-sacrifice for the emperor; imperial subjects' obedience, loyalty, filial piety, and patriotism; self-denial, even unto death; social harmony based on organic connections between people and the state; an enduring *kokutai* or national essence constituted by all of these elements; and Western individualism and imperialism posing serious threats to the *kokutai.*

Buddhist leaders helped unify and mobilize the nation by bolstering these ideological constructs in several ways. Often they directly affirmed them. From the late Meiji, for example, Buddhist sermons, lectures, and writings portray the emperor as a direct descendant of cosmogonic kami in an unbroken dynastic lineage and as a "living," "manifest" kami, who rules the "divine country" (*shinkoku*) Japan.[312] In other cases, as I have discussed elsewhere,[313] prominent Buddhists drew an array of correspondences between Buddhist doctrines and elements of

the imperial ideology. And in some cases they reinterpreted Buddhist doctrines in ways congruent with that ideology and thereby embellished it.

Zen ideologues focused much of their ideological efforts on the doctrine of no-self (*muga*) and rhetoric of "the death of the self" to valorize religiously the self-sacrifice called for in rhetoric about "obliterating the self and serving the public." D. T. Suzuki's teacher Shaku Sōen argued in 1905, "To sacrifice the self, seen from the inside, is centered around the abandoning of what Buddhism calls the small self, so as to serve the greater cause. . . . Self-sacrifice, from a Buddhist point of view, is gratitude. Gratitude is another word for compassion. . . . I believe that the readiness for self-sacrifice is found in the peoples of all other countries, but never is it so clearly manifest as in the Japanese."[314] As the head of Sōtō Zen, Ōmori Zenkai (1871–1947) wrote in January 1941, "It is only when we proceed to give ourselves completely to the state in humble service that we are able to practice the Way of a loyal subject. . . . The core of the Buddha Way is to turn away from self. In other words, subjugation of the self is its fundamental principle. . . . The heart of the practice of the Buddha Way is to forget the self. It is in killing the idea of the small self that we are reborn as a true citizen of Japan."[315] From the perspective of Zen master Yamazaki Ekijū (1882–1961), "For Japanese there is no such thing as sacrifice. Sacrifice means to totally annihilate one's body on behalf of the imperial state. The Japanese people, however, have been one with the emperor from the beginning. In this place of absoluteness there is no sacrifice. In Japan the relationship between His Majesty and the people is not relative but absolute."[316] Kamikaze pilots in particular were portrayed as exemplifying this spirit of self-sacrifice, with Sōtō Zen priest Masunaga Reihō[317] writing in 1945 that "[t]he source of the spirit of the Special Attack Forces lies in the denial of the individual self."[318]

As Brian Victoria has outlined, numerous Buddhists backed their rhetoric of self-negation with exhortations to transcend death, to extricate oneself from the duality and tension between life and death and thereby find religious liberation. Sōtō Zen abbot Kumazawa Taizen (1873–1968) wrote that "life and death are one absolute reality (*shōji ichi-shinnyo*). Upon recognizing this, you are able to transcend life and death, exercising great freedom for the first time,"[319] and through this freedom Japanese could "do their utmost to extinguish self and serve the public good, thereby bringing no shame on their ancestors," with young men aiming to "not only serve their country but find a place to die."[320]

This Zen connection to the samurai was not simply a phenomenon of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for, as Brian Victoria has emphasized, modern Zen leaders, like the authors of *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai*, celebrated *bushidō*, the Way of the warrior. Advocating the "unity of Zen and the sword"

(*kenzen ichinyo*), prominent masters championed such virtues in *bushidō* (and the imperial ideology) as loyalty, overcoming life and death, and sacrificing oneself for one's lord. They also highlighted the role in *bushidō* played by such Zen constructs as no-self, no-mind (*mushin* or *munen*), directness (*jiki*),[321] "the power of meditative *samādhi*" (*zenjō-riki*),[322] wielding the "sword that gives life" (*katsunintō*), and "killing one so that many can live" (*issatsu tashō*). While at Harvard in 1913, Sōtō priest Nukariya Kaiten (1867–1934) wrote *The Religion of the Samurai*, and, echoing a 1905 volume by Nitobe Inazō (1862–1933), *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, he applauded the warrior ethos and portrayed Zen as "an ideal faith, both for a nation full of hope and energy, and for a person who has to fight his own way in the strife of life."[323] He added, "Bushido, or the code of chivalry, should be observed not only by the soldier in the battlefield, but by every citizen in the struggle for existence. If a person be a person and not a beast, then he must be a samurai—brave, generous, upright, faithful, and manly, full of self-respect and self-confidence, and at the same time full of the spirit of self-sacrifice."[324]

From 1868 to 1945, Zen and other Buddhist ideologues also echoed official rhetoric about *on*, blessings and the indebtedness incurred because of them. It was not a major stretch for them to accept the claim that each subject carried great debt that needed to be repaid, for they had their own tradition of analyzing *on*, particularly as conveyed by the Buddhist doctrine of the Four Blessings or Four Debts (*shi'on*). These were usually catalogued in Buddhist texts as blessings from and indebtedness to the ruler, one's parents, other sentient beings, and the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha). During the Meiji period, the concept of *on* figured prominently in Buddhist reflection.[325] For example, drawing on the theory of two truths (*shinzoku nitai*)[326] and claims by Rennyo (1414–1499) that "the sovereign's law is foundational and benevolence and duty come first" (*ōbō-ihon jingi-isen*) and that one should "engrave the sovereign's law on one's forehead and preserve the Buddha's law in one's heart,"[327] Nishi Honganji abbot Kōnyo voiced in 1871 the hope that Shin priests and laity "will not err in regard to the dharma-principle of the transcendent and the mundane as two truths, that in this life will be loyal subjects of the empire and reciprocate the unlimited imperial blessings (*on*), and that in the life to come, they will attain birth in the [Pure Land in the] west and escape eternal suffering."[328]

As Japan marched to war in the early Shōwa, Buddhist thinkers argued that the Four Debts are equivalent to the virtues of loyalty and filial piety (*chūkō*), that Japanese were waging war to defend the state, and that by fighting in the war the Japanese could repay their debt (*on*) to the state,[329] to the Buddha,[330] or to the emperor.[331] Masunaga Reihō wrote,

> As far as I can determine, the life of a single human being depends upon the power of countless other people. Through the sincerity of those many people we are living. We must realize this immense blessing (*on*) and feel our responsibility toward society. The world of blessings and debt is the world of the *kokoro* [heart or mind] that looks back at the foundation of one's existence. What is it in our actual lives that leads us to feel this debt? It is none other than the household (*ie*) as the primary unit in society. The household is an existence with the absolute significance of continuing the parents-to-children transmission from the past into the future. In this respect the nation and society become one with our lives. . . . We come to realize the importance of transcending the world of self-interest, relativity, and self-attachment and live in the world of blessings and debt. We Japanese must take this perspective as our most conclusive view of human life (*jinseikan*). Emerging from this [world of blessing and debt] is also the spirit of worshiping ancestors and revering the great people of our nation.[332]

What Masunaga is expounding here is *hōon*, the requiting of the blessings or the repayment of debt, a construct that pops up throughout Buddhist discourse in the 1930s and 1940s. Zen master Ōmori Zenkai wrote in 1942, "The essence of an [imperial] subject is to be found in the basic principle of the Buddha Way, which is to forget the self. It is by giving concrete form to this essence in any and all situations, regardless of time or place, that Buddhism is, for the first time, able to repay the debt of gratitude it owes the state."[333]

To cement further the ostensible bond between subjects and ruler, Zen figures deployed their construct of becoming one (*narikiru*) with things. Rinzai abbot Yamazaki Ekijū wrote, "In Great Zen Samādhi we become united with the Emperor. In each of our actions we live, moment to moment, with the greatest respect [for the emperor]. When we personify [this spirit] in our daily lives, we become masters of every situation in accordance with our sacrificial duty. This is living Zen."[334] To link their tradition further to the emperor, Buddhist thinkers of various persuasions mobilized the concept of the unity of the sovereign's law and the Buddha's law (*ōbō buppō ichinyo*). And as I discuss briefly in chapter seven, they also marshaled arguments in direct support of Japanese military operations overseas, even going so far as to valorize killing.

The ideological stance of Imperial-Way Zen finds a summary statement in a 1943 claim by Zen teacher Yasutani Haku'un (1885–1973): "all the particulars [of the Spirit of Japan] are taught by Japanese Buddhism, including the great way of 'no-self' (*muga*) that consists of the fundamental duty of 'obliterating the self to

serve the public'; the determination to transcend life and death in order to reverently sacrifice oneself for one's sovereign; the belief in unlimited life as represented in the oath to die seven times over to repay [the debt of gratitude owed] one's country; and reverently assisting in the holy enterprise of bringing the eight corners of the world under one roof."[335]

As we have seen in this chapter, through their actions and ideological pronouncements, Zen Buddhists were active supporters of Japanese imperialism. Hosokawa Kei'itsu, secretary general of the Myōshinji branch of Rinzai Zen, recently summarized his sect's wartime position:

> The facts are as follows. As the territories colonized and occupied by Japan increased, the Myōshinji School established branch headquarters and missions there and willingly cooperated with the colonization policy. With the start of the war the School offered prayers and gave sermons in support of military victory, dispatched military chaplains who actively encouraged war sentiment, and supported the arming of ordained clergy to serve on the battlefield. It formed the Rinzai Association for Patriotic Service (Rinzaishū Hōkoku Kai), heading a system that carried out military drills, conducted fund-raising drives to purchase military aircraft, and otherwise supported the war effort both spiritually and materially, under the rallying cry of "Preach the Dharma and Serve the Nation."
>
> The most important point, however, relates to the very core of our School's teachings. In violation of the basic principles of Shakyamuni's Dharma and disregard for the lessons of our Zen ancestors' lives, we identified in a completely unprincipled manner with the militarism of the times. Thus our school took such Zen expressions as "Life and death are one," "Die the Great Death," and "Perfect freedom to give life or take it away," removed them from their original spiritual context, and used them to help send people off to the killing grounds. Under slogans like "Carry on the Sacred War!" the School fanned the war sentiment, going so far as to claim that "if Shakyamuni Buddha had been born in Japan . . . he would have proclaimed, as the First Principle, the Imperial Way."[336]

This historical record from 1868 to 1945 generates the question of why Zen, a religious tradition purportedly effective at liberating people from the ego and its entanglement in political co-optation and violence, actively supported Japanese imperialism. Simply put, this is the question of how we can account for "Imperial-Way Zen," and Ichikawa devoted much of his scholarship to answering this question.

CHAPTER TWO

Peace of Mind at Any Price

Buddhists contributed actively to Japan's attempts to forge itself into a modern nation-state and pursue imperialism throughout Asia. They lent their social status and homiletical skills to propaganda campaigns run by the state to cultivate obedient imperial subjects; pursued social welfare activities; organized and participated actively in patriotic groups; exhorted parishioners to "serve the public" in wartime by enlisting, practicing austerity on the home front, and buying war bonds; engaged in monthly "patriotic alms-begging"; diverted temple funds to the construction of warplanes; donated temple bells as scrap metal; ran officer-training programs; performed rituals to promote Japanese victory; assisted the families of the war dead; served as chaplains for troops fighting overseas; and helped "pacify" occupied areas and mold colonized Asians into imperial subjects. Buddhist clerics also served state objectives through their sermons, lectures, and writings, in which they celebrated the emperor, imperial system, and Japanese state by aligning Buddhist doctrines with the reigning imperial ideology.

In his writings, Ichikawa Hakugen advances numerous arguments about the reasons for this "Imperial-Way Buddhism." In *Buddhists' Responsibility for the War* (*Bukkyōsha no sensō sekinin*, 1970) he argues that Buddhists had at least three options for responding to state power in the early Shōwa period: criticism (*hihan*), avoidance (*kaihi*), and accommodation in the form of service (*junnō-hōshi*). Virtually no Buddhists chose the first option, and Ichikawa attributes this lack of criticism to four features of Japanese Buddhism:

1. its fundamental standpoint is based on emptiness rather than being, on non-duality rather than dualism;

2. it is a religion of peace of mind . . . not a religion focused on ethics;
3. it either isolates itself from state power or abides in a peace of mind within the [state] system; and
4. it depends on the patronage of and [funds gained through] memorial services performed for the middle and upper classes, from which its priests come and among whom they live.[1]

Ichikawa claims that few Buddhists chose the second option of avoidance either. Rather, the typical Buddhist response to state power during the Fifteen-Year War was, initially, passive accommodation (*junnō*), followed by active support (*yokusan*).[2]

To account for these wartime stances, in *Buddhists' Responsibility for the War* Ichikawa focuses on seven overlapping facets of Buddhism: (1) the doctrine of peace of mind (*anjin-shugi*[3]), (2) the ethic of negating the ego and being selfless, which is central to the Buddhist focus on attaining a particular state of mind (*shinkyō-shugi*[4]), (3) the ethic of non-contention and harmony, (4) the logic of *soku* ("none other than"),[5] (5) the logic of "becoming one" with things, (6) the static and passive logic of "absolute negation is none other than absolute affirmation" (*zettaihitei-soku-zettaikōtei*), and (7) the Huayan Buddhist logic of the "non-obstruction between thing and thing" (*jiji-muge*).[6]

Elsewhere in that volume Ichikawa links Buddhist war responsibility to five facets of Japanese Mahāyāna Buddhist thought. The first is the uncritical stance that emerges from "insight into the true form of things" (*jissō-kan*), a religious epistemology in which one "sees the universal principle in the individual thing" (*ji no naka ni ri o miru*). To Ichikawa, the logic of this insight can lead to an overemphasis on such institutions as the household (*ie*), whether the home or family in the ordinary sense or the national household (*kokka*)—the nation-state—headed by the patriarchal emperor. This epistemology "contributed directly and indirectly to the formation of the ethos of the Japanese people, who get easily swept up in things, such as the Manchurian Incident, the war between Japan and China, and Founding of the Dynasty Day (*kigensetsu*[7])."[8] The second facet of Mahāyāna thought is the logic that "differences are none other than equality" (*shabetsu-soku-byōdō*), "which functioned to support and protect the [imperial] system."[9] The third is the logic of *sokuhi*,[10] and the fourth is "the epistemology of the Buddhist religious approach with its focus on mental states, in which the desire for 'peace of mind' (*anjin*) gets swallowed up by the desire for 'physical safety' (*anzen*)."[11] The fifth facet is the overall functioning of the first four "as logics of a mental technique for establishing oneself in peace of mind by securing an 'internal mental peace' divorced from 'external world peace.'"[12]

Toward the end of *Buddhists' Responsibility for the War*, Ichikawa sketches twelve other factors that have contributed to the historical acquiescence of Zen

and other forms of Buddhism, and by extension to the belated start of Buddhist socialism in Japan relative to Christian socialism in Europe: (1) the role of Japanese Buddhism in supporting and defending the state, (2) the traditional karmic angle on humans and society, which has justified differences of class, health, and gender, (3) the Confucian emphasis on "encouraging the good and chastising evil" (*kanzen chōaku*), which appears in the *Seventeen Article Constitution* (604) and continues in the status morality of Confucian ethics down through Japanese history and into late Meiji "national morality," (4) the lack of Buddhist reflection on human rights, justice, and natural law, due largely to the doctrine of no-self, (5) the absence of firm principles for which to fight, in part because of the Buddhist "ethics of feeling," an approach that diverges from an "ethics of responsibility," which considers the results of one's actions, (6) the philosophy of blessings and indebtedness (*on*), (7) the theory of interdependence and interrelationship (*sōi-sōkan*), which came to justify relations between the "whole" in the form of the state and the "part" in the form of the individual, between the capitalist and the laborer, and between militarists and citizens, and in this way became a theory supportive of "big-family-system cooperationism" (*daikazoku-sei kyōchō-shugi*), (8) the doctrine of the Middle Way, which politically has led to a safe, compromising stance that advocates a "social improvement" approach that avoids confrontation, (9) the East Asian tradition of ancestor worship, (10) the Buddhist spirituality of the aged, (11) the emphasis on peace of mind rather than justice, and (12) the logic of *soku*.[13]

To outline Ichikawa's arguments about the ethical issues surrounding Zen and other sects in the midst of Japanese imperialism, in this and the next chapter I organize and discuss these and other factors along the lines of the four main foci of his critique: the epistemological, metaphysical, sociological, and historical dimensions of Zen.

To account for Imperial-Way Zen, Ichikawa probes the roots of Zen[14] in China. Diverging from prevailing philological and doctrinal approaches to the origins of the tradition, Ichikawa employs a Marxist historiography to sketch the concrete sociohistorical context in which Zen emerged.[15] Spatially, the material stage on which Zen made its debut was the vast expanse of China. In scattered small villages, farmers confronted the formidable natural forces that Ichikawa understood to be unique to Asia as they struggled to produce food.[16] Temporally, the sixth and seventh centuries were plagued by chaos, as kingdoms and dynasties rose and fell. Gradually emerging from this chaos was, in Ichikawa's phrasing, a "centralized, despotic feudal system."[17] Elites responded to the reigning chaos by formulating Zen out of Mahāyāna Buddhism through the mediation of Daoism as advanced by Laozi and Zhuangzi. What they concocted was "a Chinese-style, non-doctrinal,

practice-oriented Buddhism that provides a simple and direct path to peace of mind in everyday life through accordance with experiential facts."[18]

Specifically, following the collapse of the Han dynasty in 220 CE, the Chinese political landscape in the Six Dynasties period (222–589) was riddled with divisions and warfare. Rebellions, civil wars, "barbarian" invasions, and mass migrations threw China into political turmoil and socioeconomic instability. In the 520s, tribal groups revolted against the sinification of the Northern Wei court and, as traditional accounts would have it, Zen founder Bodhidharma started teaching near Luoyang.

Political unrest continued as the second and third Zen patriarchs,[19] Huike and Sengcan,[20] developed Bodhiharma's teachings. In 534–535 the Northern Wei split into the Eastern and Western Wei, and through the usurpations that soon followed, the two divisions became the Northern Qi (550) and Northern Zhou (557). Two decades later, the Northern Zhou emperor Wu (r. 561–577) devoted the last three years of his reign to persecuting Buddhism.[21] Four years after that, General Yang Jian took power and founded the Sui dynasty (581–618). With the moniker "Emperor Wen," he restored the unity that had eluded China since the Han dynasty. He started digging a system of canals and rebuilding the Great Wall, eliminated certain regional offices and positions, rounded up weapons owned by the populace, and demanded tribute from neighboring kingdoms. In his centralized feudal system, formulated along the lines of the Chinese political philosophy of Legalism, Wen established harsh control over those beneath him, prescribing capital punishment for even minor theft.

Wen's son took over as "Emperor Yang" in 604 and distinguished himself by tyrannizing his subjects and attacking his neighbors. To continue his father's policy of digging canals and to start his own construction projects, including numerous palaces, Yang increased the tax and corvée burden while sending his subjects to fight in a successful campaign to conquer northern Vietnam and failed campaigns to annex the Koguryŏ kingdom and subdue other neighboring powers. Sui chronicles depict how Wen and Yang's famished subjects pounded straw into flour, ate bark and leaves, collapsed along roads, and even resorted to cannibalism.[22]

The Sui dynasty lasted less than four decades, ending with the assassination of Emperor Yang in 618 and the concurrent rise to power of one of Yang's generals, Li Yuan, the Duke of Tang, who became Gaozu, the first Tang emperor. In the early Tang dynasty, commercial capital and high-interest usury entered the economic scene, and large, water-driven mills boosted production. Benefiting from these developments, Chang'an and Luoyang evolved into cosmopolitan centers. By the time of the sixth patriarch, Huineng (638–713), temples, aristocrats, and officials held extensive land, the ranks of tax-exempt monks had swelled, and villages were

being squeezed by a rice tax set at half the crop. In 755 the outbreak of the An Lushan Rebellion disrupted Tang stability, and the warfare that continued until 763 laid waste to much of China.

During the prime of Zen masters Mazu Daoyi (709–788) and Guishan Lingyou (771–853) the gap between rich and poor became extreme. Manipulation of rice prices by ruthless brokers drove people to starvation, and holders of political power exploited those beneath them to support their increasingly extravagant lifestyles.[23] From 841 to 846 Buddhism suffered another round of repression under Emperor Wuzong. Looking across this rising and falling of authoritarian dynasties in early Zen history, Ichikawa glosses the Zen expression, "The green mountains do not move, and the white clouds come and go on their own," as apt for the immobility of the overall despotic sociopolitical system and the rising and falling of particular dynasties within that system.[24]

Confronting the chaos and suffering at the end of the Sui and into the Tang, many Chinese turned from the worldly orientation of Confucianism to the Buddhist doctrine of "cause and effect across the three worlds [of past, present, and future]" (J. *sanze-inga setsu*) in an effort to secure an explanation for current conditions and, more crucially, a modicum of hope for the future. At this tumultuous time, doctrines of "the latter day of the Dharma" (Ch. *mofa*, J. *mappō*) emerged through Buddhist reflection on Amitayus, rebirth, and the Pure Land, and through such new religious organizations as the millenarian Three Levels (Ch. *Sanjie*, J. *Sangai*) movement[25] and groups that worshipped Maitreya.[26] In the Southern Song (1127–1279) this trend led to such movements as the White Lotus Society on Mt. Lu, whose members later led rebellions against the Mongols and the Manchus.[27]

Some Chinese turned to cinnabar alchemy and the Daoist path of immortality, searching for ways to prolong life, for solutions that Ichikawa views as akin to the *ars vitae* sought by the Stoics. Others pursued an eremitic lifestyle based on the Daoist notion of the "usefulness of the useless" and the non-conflictual approach to life sketched in the eighth chapter of the *Dao De Jing*: "The best are like water. . . . They simply do not contend, and hence there is no offence."[28] Still others turned to the Daoist school of Pure Conversation and its aloof optimism. In these and other ways, as a response to precarious political and economic conditions, the Chinese "intelligentsia," squeezed between pressures from above and rebellions from below, turned to forms of anarchism, pessimism, and otherworldly optimism.[29]

In this social and political chaos of the sixth through tenth centuries, Chinese were confronting two challenges: how to secure personal safety and, given the tenuousness of any apparent safety, how to live their lives while constantly facing the prospect of death. They had three main options for responding to

their situation. The first was to maintain physical safety (*anzen*) by yielding to the powerful, avoiding conflict, and seeking peace at any price (*kotonakare-shugi*). Ichikawa sees this kind of approach in such Japanese expressions as "There is no retribution from a god with which one has had no contact" and "Yield to the powerful."[30] The second option was to unite with others to resist and eliminate the oppressive conditions that jeopardized one's safety. The third option was what Zen refers to as *anxin* (J. *anjin*), "pacifying the mind" or, translated nominally as a telos, "peace of mind."[31]

In this third approach, rather than maneuvering to guarantee one's physical security or, more broadly, social peace, one cultivates a type of psychological security, a mental peace. As Ichikawa puts it, "The Way of peace of mind is pursued and attained as an existential wisdom by means of which one avoids being crushed by the dangers and insecurity that emerge in the tumult and vicissitudes of actuality."[32] To attain this Zen peace of mind, one must embrace whatever one encounters: "The wisdom of peace of mind does not flee in the face of a lack of safety or the onslaught of overwhelming danger; rather, it steps forward and receives such things. As the expression goes, 'When you encounter a disaster, it is good to meet it [fully]; and when you encounter death, it is good to meet it [fully].'"[33] More specifically, "One greets and accepts each situation, without hating or avoiding it, and by becoming one (*narikiru*) with that situation, one lives a life characterized by peace of mind."[34] This is "the path of attaining the wisdom through which one can accept, just as it is, whatever misery or impending danger of death one might encounter, and thereby live a fulfilled life in each situation."[35]

These constituents of "peace of mind"—not judging or reacting to situations, accepting whatever situation one encounters, "becoming one" with each situation—appear repeatedly in Zen texts. The construct of "peace of mind" first appears in Bodhidharma's exchange (*mondō*) with the second patriarch, Huike:

> Huike: "I have no peace of mind. Please pacify my mind."
> Bodhidharma: "Show me your mind and I'll pacify it."
> Huike: "When I seek my mind, I can't find it."
> Bodhidharma: "There. I've pacified your mind."[36]

In "The Teaching on Pacifying the Mind,"[37] a section of *Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices*,[38] Bodhidharma states, "When deluded, a person pursues things; when a person understands, things enter [the person]."[39] Sengcan writes in his *Inscriptions on Faith in Mind*,[40] "When the [discriminating] mind does not arise, the ten-thousand things offer no offense. No offense, no things. Not arising, there is no mind."[41] Dōgen (1200–1253) echoes Bodhidharma's statement

about things "entering" the person when he writes, "To study the self is to forget the self; to forget the self is to be confirmed by all things."[42]

Ichikawa regards these statements as rejecting conceptual discrimination (Skt. *vikalpa*, J. *funbetsu*). He writes, "Anguishing about things this way and that–dualistically—is what is being referred to as offense (*toga*)."[43] That is to say, discriminative thought colors things in that it construes reality as consisting of independent entities and then delineates, characterizes, and evaluates them. Ichikawa elaborates: "The activity of consciousness in the mental and physical stance that situates and recognizes *things—things* and *mind*—apart from oneself, and then grasps them, thinks about them, and schemes about them, is the act of objective logical thinking (*taishōronri-teki shii*) about *things*."[44] That is to say, "It is discrimination on the basis of the opposition between subject and object. In this discrimination, all things are grasped, pondered, and schemed about, and it is to this state of affairs that Bodhidharma is referring when he writes about how 'the person pursues things.'"[45]

Zen practitioners secure "peace of mind" by avoiding discrimination, by not making distinctions between what they like and dislike or engaging in ordinary moral consideration of what is right or wrong. As Ichikawa puts it, "There is no possibility of peace in the mind that is split. Zen itself, as the embodiment (*tōtai*) of peace of mind, is not found in the dimension of deliberation and discrimination concerning ought and is, the ideal and the actual, or rationality and irrationality."[46] In other words, "Zen is a life of non-discrimination (*mufunbetsu*) and non-choosing (*musentaku*), an active intuition that has dissolved discriminating intellectuality (*chisei*)."[47] This approach is evident in such texts as *Inscriptions on Faith in Mind*, in which Sengcan declares, "If you wish to see it before your own eyes, have no fixed thoughts either for or against it. To set up what you like against what you dislike—this is the disease of the mind. . . . Try not to seek the true, only cease to cherish opinions. . . . As soon as you have right or wrong, confusion ensues, and Mind is lost."[48] In his *Universal Recommendation of Zazen* (*Fukan zazengi*) Dōgen tells his disciples, "Setting everything aside, think of neither good nor evil, right nor wrong."[49] By "ceasing to cherish opinions" and "setting everything aside," one refrains from judgmental discrimination and thereby removes oneself from the psychological basis of preferences and struggle. In this way one can eradicate anguish and secure peace of mind. As Ichikawa summarizes it, "If one discards discrimination between affirmation and negation and accords with nature, one can establish one's life."[50]

To stop discriminating and evaluating "things" as objects separated from oneself and thereby accept them fully is to be "entered" or "filled" by what one experiences, or, as Dōgen puts it, "to be confirmed by all things." Expressed differently,

this is to attain the wisdom in which one no longer feels oneself to be fundamentally apart from the content of experience, from other things and the surrounding world. This is what Zen master Iida Tōin (1863–1937) is sketching when he writes, "When there is no self, there is nothing that is not self."[51] This is the Zen epistemology of non-duality, in the sense of *being* one's experience rather than *having* an experience of some object or "thing" apart from what is usually posited as the experiencing subject or "self." The person "becomes one" (*narikiru*; *hitotsu ni naru*) with the actuality she experiences,[52] whether objects of experience, unavoidable situations, or internal anguish.[53] Iida writes, "Hakuin talks about fully encountering each place and every situation. We handle each situation. We become one with each thing."[54] Elaborating on this through exegesis of the koan about how Zhaozhou told a monk to "go drink tea,"[55] Ichikawa claims that ordinarily people are not completely drinking tea when they lift the cup to their lips: "They have not attained the royal *samādhi*[56] of drinking tea, for there is no evidence that they are drinking the tea in the bottomless depths of no-self. They're thinking of this and that, or looking off to the side. They have not become one with the drinking of the tea."[57] But, "If you become completely one with things, that which stands over against the self disappears. The world opposite the self is broken through, it vanishes."[58]

This act of "becoming" one with things, as Ichikawa would have it, is no mere epistemological or psychological event, for it is central to the religious liberation secured in peace of mind. "Regardless of the situation, one greets and accepts it, without hating or avoiding it, and the way of peace of mind is the way of life in which one becomes one with that situation."[59] That is to say, "To become one with things (*narikiru*) is to break through them (*nari-tsubureru*). To penetrate (*tō*) something is, just as it is, transcendence (*datsu*)."[60] In other words, by transcending subject-object dualism, one liberates oneself from the seemingly separate ego that discriminates and fears for its personal safety. It is in this "transcendence" that one finds peace of mind, that one "pacifies the mind and establishes one's life" (*anjin-ryūmyō*).[61]

When one stops discriminating and grasping things, one can achieve a clear and direct experience of things "just as they are" (*arugamama*; *sono mama*) or, more technically, experience them in their "suchness" (Skt. *tathatā*, J. *nyojitsu*).[62] Zen and other forms of Buddhism have conveyed this experience through the metaphor of a bright mirror (*myōkyō*) or old mirror (*kokyō*) and through the expression "jeweled-mirror *samādhi*."[63] In the *Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*, Zen master Xuefeng Yicun[64] declares, "When I want to encounter the fact (of emptiness and freedom[65]), my Zen state of mind is like an old mirror, reflecting things as they appear. When a barbarian comes, he is reflected; when a Han Chinese comes, he is reflected."[66]

The metaphor of the mirror conveys how the state of mind cultivated through Zen practice reflects (*utsusu*) what comes before it without discrimination or judgment, how it illuminates (*terasu*) whatever appears, or in more non-dualistic terms, how it manifests (*arawasu*) all things. And this mind does so in an objectivity that does not ask "why?" or wrestle with problems of good and evil.[67] As Ichikawa puts it, the mirror connotes "the formless self in which 'originally there is not a single thing,'[68] the subject[ivity] of absolute nothingness, in which discriminating thought about affirmation and negation, good and evil, truth and falsehood, being and nonbeing, life and death, and delusion and *satori*, has been emptied."[69] To Ichikawa, the metaphor of the mirror conveys the "fundamental spirit" and "fundamental character" of Buddhism: magnanimity (*kan'yō),* harmony (*wagō*), and non-resistance (*muteikō*).[70]

Ichikawa characterizes Zen, with this mirror-like epistemology, as providing a *satori*, an awakening, that gazes peacefully on all things and recognizes that "all things are fine just as they are."[71] He explains that this

> *satori* is the wisdom of peace of mind and magnanimity, through which, while recognizing distinctions between phenomena that stand in opposition to each other, one sees the unity of those phenomena. This wisdom recognizes that things exist for no specific reason and with no foundation, and it accepts things just as they are. One can say that the character of this wisdom is poetical and contemplative (*kanshō-teki*).[72]

The contemplative Zen way of being (*kyōgai*) is manifested by adepts who have reached the pinnacle of the Buddhist Way (*tatsujin*) and dwell in "solitary aloofness" (*kokōsei*), far beyond the ken of ordinary humans (*bonpu*), who are still entangled in ignorance and clinging. Ichikawa lifts up a verse on the 19th case of the *Gateless Barrier* that exemplifies this contemplative approach to life:

> Hundreds of flowers in spring, the moon in autumn,
> A cool breeze in summer, and snow in winter.
> If there are no idle matters in your mind,
> For you it is a good season.[73]

In this Zen path to securing contemplative peace of mind, insofar as one stops discriminating and reacting to what one experiences and thereby comes to be filled or "confirmed" by what one experiences, one accepts actuality just as it is,[74] without trying to change it or seeking something permanent beyond it. Ichikawa refers to this advocacy of accepting of whatever one encounters—whether objects, events,

or social conditions—as the "doctrine of according with things,"[75] an "accordance with the principles of things as a kind of naturalism."[76] Bodhidharma terms this approach "the practice of according with circumstances,"[77] and in "The Teaching for Pacifying the Mind," he writes, "The wise entrust themselves to things, not to the self. For this reason, there is no grasping or rejecting, no opposing or obeying. The ignorant entrust themselves to the self and do not accord with things. For this reason, there is grasping and rejecting, opposing and obeying."[78] Three centuries later, describing the "true person of the Way," Linji (d. 867) tells his disciples, "Merely according with circumstances, he uses up his past karma; entrusting himself to things as they come (*nin'nun*), he puts on his clothes; when he wants to walk he walks, when he wants to sit he sits."[79] Linji also cites an earlier Buddhist statement, "The mind turns in accordance with the myriad circumstances, and this turning is truly profound."[80] As an expression cited by Ichikawa puts it, "Just like an empty boat hitching itself to the waves, following them up and down, one accords with the various circumstances in the world and thereby encounters no obstacles, no hindrances."[81]

To accord with things, of course, is to avoid resisting or conflicting with them. In a gloss on the passage from the *Dao De Jing*, "The best are like water. . . . They simply do not contend, and hence there is no offense," Ichikawa writes, "According with a round vessel, settling in all places, calming down in all places—to water, squares and circles are the same. This is the unity of contradictories."[82] The Buddhist value of non-contention (*mujō*),[83] of not struggling or getting into conflicts,[84] finds doctrinal expression in the "*samādhi* of not-contention" (*mujō-zanmai*), a construct that appears in the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*), where Subhuti declares, "The Buddha says that I am the foremost of those who have attained the *samādhi* of non-contention, that I am the foremost of the arhats who have overcome desires."[85]

Through this approach, as indicated by D. T. Suzuki's declaration that "Zen is freedom,"[86] one becomes free. But this is neither ordinary freedom *from* restrictive conditions nor the freedom *to do* certain things, nor "democratic freedom possessed by the *demos* in a society, nor even the freedom discovered by Jean Paul Sartre in the particular fate of one's existence. Rather, it is the freedom of the subjective way of being (*shutaiteki kyōgai*) realized by a limited number of Zen masters."[87]

Ichikawa contrasts religious, absolute "vertical" freedom with sociopolitical, relative "horizontal" freedom.[88] In vertical Zen freedom, one is no longer "caught up in karmic causes and effects rooted in the ego's will to live."[89] That is to say, realizing, like the Sixth Patriarch, that "Originally, there is not a single thing" (*honrai mu'ichimotsu*), an awakened Zen person is free from attachment, is "caught up in nothing, freely creating and functioning."[90] In the words of the *Diamond Sūtra*,

"One gives rise to the mind that abides nowhere," or as the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* puts it, "From the base of non-abiding, one establishes all things."

This freedom is "the non-dualistic freedom of no-self, operating in the world of good and evil, pleasure and pain, and fortune and misfortune, but not restricted by those distinctions. This is a freedom beyond splits and tensions between 'ought' and 'is,' the ideal and the actual."[91] To transcend dichotomies is not to attain the desired pole at the exclusion of the other—for example, good without evil—but to realize non-duality: "In the logic of *anjin*, the peace of mind in which facts are accepted just as they are, things that oppose or contradict each other are non-dual through a relationship in terms of *soku* ["none other than"] just as, metaphorically put, the inability of an arm to bend outward (necessity) is none other than freedom,"[92] in that an arm can function effectively when it bends only in the way it has been naturally constituted. Ichikawa continues, "immanence is none other than (*soku*) transcendence, and death is none other than (*soku*) life. Put differently, by throwing oneself into extreme necessity one becomes the master of necessity, and this is freedom."[93] In short, through the realization that necessity is none other than freedom (*hitsuzen-soku-jiyū*), Zen offers a freedom in necessity. To give oneself completely to or "become one" with what *is* in any moment, to merge with the raw given, which in the present moment is unavoidable and hence inevitable or "necessary" (*hitsuzenteki*), is to achieve an existential liberation from the discriminating thought that wrestles with things encountered moment to moment and thereby causes otherwise avoidable anguish.[94]

This method of finding freedom beyond the dichotomy of necessity and relative freedom has found expression over the centuries in Zen texts. In one encounter dialogue (*mondō*), Caoshan[95] is asked by a monk how to avoid the unbearable heat of summer, and he responds that he avoids it by escaping to the inside of a blast furnace.[96] According to the Sixth Patriarch, "If you give rise to correct understanding from your mind (*jishin*), you will not be affected by mental afflictions, and this is none other than seeing into one's nature. Friends, dwelling neither within nor without, you are free to come and go."[97] Linji tells his disciples, "Gaining true insight, one is not affected by living-dying, but freely comes and goes."[98] In the parlance of Huanglong Huinan (J. Oryō Enan, 1002–1069), "When you have extinguished the mind [discriminative thought], fire itself is cool."[99] And Japanese master Shidō Bunan (1603–1676) advises, "While living, become a dead person, then do as you wish." In short, Ichikawa sees Zen as recommending that in all circumstances—including those that are extreme—one should separate oneself from the agitated mind and "advance straight ahead" (*bakujiki-shinzen*), accepting one's circumstances as the place to create one's life.

In overcoming discrimination and attachment, becoming one with things, attaining peace of mind, and finding this freedom, the practitioner is said to have mastered the Zen way, which is mastery of life in general. As Linji exclaims in his *Record*, "Make yourself master of every situation, and wherever you stand is the true [place]."[100] The practitioner becomes what Linji calls the "True Person without Rank," analogous to the "True Person" of Zhuangzi,[101] who has attained the freedom of changing in accord with one's situation (*sho*), circumstances (*kyō*), or conditions (*en*).[102] This True Person, the "accomplished person" (*tatsujin*), lives in an awakened state with "accomplished insight" (*takkan*[103]).[104]

Insofar as this "True Person" lives in the world, he or she exhibits what Ikkyū (1394–1481) and other Zen figures have termed *fūryū*,[105] an elegant fluidity in daily life. Ichikawa comments, "The expression, *fūryū*, appears in ancient Chinese literature, and it connotes a refined elegance that is separated from worldliness. In Tang and Song Zen circles the expression took on the connotation of a *free and easy manner* (*shadatsu*) that is separate from the squalid mundane world, and with this meaning it came to designate the way of being (*kyōgai*) of Zen figures. It thereby contributed to the emergence of 'the one flavor of poetry and Zen' (*shizen-ichimi*), 'the one flavor of painting and Zen' (*gazen-ichimi*), 'the one flavor of tea and Zen' (*chazen-ichimi*), and 'the unity of the sword and Zen' (*kenzen-ichinyo*)."[106]

Ichikawa thus construes early Zen as a religion for Chinese elites seeking existential security in the midst of social turmoil. They attained peace of mind by transcending dualistic discrimination and "becoming one" with the things—objects, events, social conditions—they encountered. With their mirror-like awareness and fluid accordance with circumstances around them, they enjoyed a type of existential freedom, expressed by Linji as the ability to "make oneself master of every situation." To Ichikawa's way of thinking, however, these facets of the Zen path, while religiously liberating, have caused the tradition to founder in the realm of ethics, especially insofar as they influenced the political stances of Imperial-Way Zen during the Second World War.

Ichikawa argues, as sketched above, that Sui and Tang Chinese had three options for responding to political turmoil and the real danger of death: (1) protecting one's physical safety (*anzen*) by obediently submitting to those in power, (2) actively resisting, and (3) cultivating "peace of mind" (*anjin*). Exercising the second option was, in most cases, akin to suicide. This left the other two, which at first glance may appear antithetical: when oriented toward securing or preserving physical safety, one tries to avoid danger as much as possible, and when devoted to peace of mind, one fosters the equanimity through which one can accept whatever danger one might encounter.

While recognizing the existential freedom provided by "peace of mind," Ichikawa argues that insofar as Zen Buddhists have cultivated this mental state

by letting go of critical discrimination, mirroring or "becoming one" with what they experience, and accepting and according with their situation "just as it is," they have tended to slip into a way of living that is indistinguishable from and effectively converts (*tenkō*) them to the first option for responding to chaos and danger: lying low, accommodating sociopolitical conditions, avoiding conflict and by extension danger, and thereby trying to find personal safety.[107] Zen Buddhists have usually taken a safe, acquiescent stance in tension with the ideal of engaging in compassionate and courageous "bodhisattva functioning" (*bosatsugyō*) to liberate people from suffering. Simply put, "the demand for peace of mind (*anjin*) got swallowed up by the demand for physical safety (*anzen*)."[108] The sort of wisdom that Ryōkan advocated with his call to "meet" or embrace extreme, unavoidable situations "seeped into the daily life of ordinary people as a kind of mood and, in general, made them passive. A way of living in which they did not fight against their given actuality or the actuality pressing on them but, to the contrary, harmonized with it, became the foundation of their daily life."[109]

As a result, the wisdom of peace of mind, in which one does not flee in the face of catastrophes or danger, "mutated into the safety-first principle of 'A wise person never courts danger.'"[110] This shift has led people to accommodate their actuality, including state power (*kokka kenryoku*), about which Ichikawa writes, "The most shocking actuality created by state power is war."[111] Moreover, "If the wisdom of peace of mind exists only in peace and disappears as soon as war breaks out, it falls short of true peace of mind. In true peace of mind, when fighting commences one enters 'war *samādhi*.'"[112] The way of peace of mind can thus undermine resistance to war and the conditions that lead to it. "In this mental peace, there is no foothold or principle for civil disobedience in response to political situations or state actions that can lead to war. As a result, ordinary times and emergencies do not interfere with each other, and this amounts to the unity of peace and war (*wasen-ichinyo*)."[113]

Peace of mind also subverts resistance to one other ethical challenge: the alienation and economic injustice in modern society. Ichikawa claimed in 1971 that many people were suffering from "human alienation and derivative neuroses caused by the mechanisms of contemporary large-scale industry, the science with which it is linked, and bureaucratic systems."[114] But when such people "throw themselves into the mechanisms of technological society and become completely one with them, there is no way any consciousness of 'alienation' can arise. As a result, they can become liberated from neurosis, gain mental composure, and become [as Linji puts it] masters of every situation."[115]

Ichikawa also argues that because Zen emphasizes peace of mind and construes ultimate reality in Buddhist terms as "emptiness" (Skt. *śūnyatā*) rather than

God, it has not formulated constructs like "justice." When Zen figures *have* discussed reforming or rebuilding East Asian societies, more often than not they have couched their arguments in terms of effecting change "by securing individual peace of mind, rather than by praying for, or making resolutions to establish, the justice of a kingdom of God here on earth."[116] Zen has therefore offered little in the way of transcendent principles on the basis of which one can make moral evaluations of social and political actuality, including, Ichikawa explicitly notes, State Shinto in the early Shōwa period.[117] For this and other reasons Zen has virtually never chosen the second of the three possible responses to turmoil and state power: active resistance.

Another facet of Zen that Ichikawa regards as presenting ethical problems is the rejection of discrimination. Admonitions to avoid "setting up what you like against what you dislike" and to "think of neither good nor evil"—to rid oneself of discriminating thought and thereby transcend good and evil and all other dualisms—hobbles Zen Buddhists when responding to complex historical scenarios like war that call for sustained analysis and evaluative categories.[118] Ichikawa tells his readers, "It is unclear through what process one can, on the basis of the realization of 'not thinking of good and not thinking of evil,' formulate the awareness, standards, and standpoint necessary for affirming and negating good and evil."[119] Ironically, Zen figures have pitched non-discriminating, open, mirror-like wisdom to the "West" as a way to overcome the intolerance and conflict they criticize as destructive ramifications of dualistic thinking, but if such criticism had instead "been directed early on at the intolerance and combative nature of State Shinto and Imperial-Way Buddhism, it might have been in time [to stop what happened]."[120] It might have also precluded the court testimony given by Colonel Aizawa Saburō when he was being tried for murdering General Nagata Tetsuzan in 1935: "I was in an absolute sphere, so there was neither affirmation nor negation, neither good nor evil."[121] This testimony, however, may actually square with Zen, for according to D. T. Suzuki, "Zen does not affirm or negate temporal actuality. Actuality has historicity, with which the ultimacy of Zen has no dealings."[122]

Insofar as "peace of mind" derives from "becoming one" with and accepting whatever one encounters, it is dogged by other ethical problems. First, "becoming one" with things concerns *how* one experiences, not *what* one experiences, and in principle one can "become one" with anything. As Ichikawa puts it, "Zen is not necessarily something that prescribes and produces the concrete *content* of our thought or daily lives. Rather, it is a daily-life *attitude*. This attitude has been conveyed by such customary expressions as 'becoming one' [with things] or [achieving] '*samādhi*.' The problem is that of *what* we become one with and *what* we enter into *samādhi* with."[123] Obviously, we can become one with a beautiful sunset or a

mushroom cloud. "In the true scenery of Zen, the land of tranquil light,[124] does the act of producing poisonous gas become poison-gas-production *samādhi* and the production of napalm become napalm-production *samādhi*? Is it a matter of soldiers experiencing combat *samādhi,* the dropping of the atomic bomb becoming 'atomic-bomb-dropping *samādhi*,' and the citizens of Hiroshima experiencing 'flash-boom *samādhi*'?"[125] Perhaps it does, for in 1939 Zen master Harada Sōgaku (1870–1961) wrote, "In accord with each situation one should forget all things and the self, and become one with the way (the work at hand) in that situation. March: tramp, tramp, tramp. Shoot: bang, bang, bang. This is a bold manifestation of the highest wisdom. The unity of Zen and war of which I speak extends to the farthest reaches of the holy war."[126]

Ichikawa further notes that "becoming one" with things allows for none of the epistemological distance necessary for criticizing actuality. "In the subject's merging with the object there is true discernment (*tainin*) and contemplation (*kanshō*) but no critical evaluation. Only when the subject and object separate and the subject stands apart from the object does one secure a position for critically evaluating the object."[127] Ryōkan's admonition, "When you encounter a disaster, meet it fully," reflects the Asian proclivity to "regard all grappling with the meaning or meaninglessness of things as delusory: '[consideration of] gain and loss, affirmation and negation—throw it all away.'"[128] Without the subject-object separation necessary for critical reflection, however, one cannot engage in the analytical process that is essential to moral evaluation of what one experiences or begin to formulate principles of criticism and action.

This lack of epistemological distance may not, however, preclude all forms of social ethics. It can support obedience, perseverance, and self-sacrifice, all of which were lifted up as virtues during the war and postwar economic recovery. Ichikawa wrote in 1967, "Zen, which teaches us how to penetrate and thereby extricate ourselves (*tōdatsu*) from insecurity and anguish by becoming one with them, may support the formation of organization men by contemporary large-scale industrialism."[129]

These ethical pitfalls of "becoming one" with things also pertain to the related notion of experiencing things like a mirror. On the one hand, mirrors feature openness and non-attachment: "There is a certain merit in the mirror's not rejecting what comes before it or chasing after what goes away."[130] And the Zen "mirror" offers other resources for social ethics: selflessness, a clear grasp of reality "just as it is," magnanimity, fairness, non-contention, freedom, and equality.[131] On the other hand, "These merits offer no principle of rejection and no principle of resistance."[132] That is to say, ostensibly unmediated reflection can easily slip into uncritical acceptance of actuality. As Ichikawa commented during the Vietnam War, "People

say about computers that 'if you input garbage, garbage will come out,' and insofar as a computer does not criticize or reject bad data, it is no different from a mirror. I don't think anyone has invented a computer that, for example, rejects data on the escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam."[133] Passive acceptance of "data" also undermines motivation to engage in active resistance. "As indicated by the expression, 'When a barbarian comes, he is reflected; when a Han Chinese comes, he is reflected,' at a time of peace the subjectivity of a Zen person reflects peace, and at a time of war it reflects war; the subjectivity of a Zen person simply reflects actuality like a mirror, and it does not even begin to consider resisting societal evils."[134]

Of course, talk of "*the* subjectivity of a Zen person," implying that all Zen Buddhists share a uniform subjectivity, succumbs to an essentialist representation of Zen. Ichikawa does, however, recognize the logical possibility, and actual occurrence, of variation among Zen practitioners. He notes that mirrors can be warped,[135] or become clouded, especially because of education: "Has not education given our mirrors (eyes) colorblindness and astigmatism?"[136] Our experience of reality, while seemingly objective, can be subtly colored by other facets of socialization as well, or by ignorance, desire, and ill-will, or by any of the other mental afflictions enumerated in Buddhist texts. Buddhism therefore distinguishes between the clear, bright mirror (*myōkyō*) and the karmic mirror (*gōkyō*).[137] Ichikawa construes the latter as karmic consciousness (*gōshiki*), "the delusional discrimination that is entangled in attachment to self and attachment to things and is none other than the functioning of karma."[138]

Further problems emerge when Zen's mirror-like encounter with particular things, the experience of things "just as they are" (*aru-ga-mama*), is extended to encounters with broader sociopolitical conditions. Zen-inspired philosopher Nishida Kitarō wrote, "To experience is to know facts just as they are, to know in accordance with facts by completely relinquishing one's own fabrications,"[139] but Ichikawa problematizes these "facts": "What are these 'facts'? They are not large-scale situations like the 1931 Manchurian Incident or the Vietnam War. Rather, they are things experienced directly through the body, like the drinking of tea, the green of willows, the red of flowers, the act of putting on robes."[140] In short, Zen "facts" traditionally have been limited to immediate events in the lives of Zen masters as opposed to complex actualities on which social ethicists reflect, and it is not at all clear how a mirror-like epistemology has any relevance to those broader actualities. Indeed, when we shift from the immediate fact of drinking tea to the complexity of society as a whole, it starts getting difficult to imagine what "experiencing things just as they are" might entail.[141]

The insight attained by cultivating the mirror-like experience of actuality, while offering a rich aesthetic appreciation of the world, reflects passively and

accepts whatever it encounters, and in this respect Ichikawa deems it contemplative (*kanshō-teki*).[142]

> Insofar as a Buddhist's goal is . . . securing peace of mind, the focus is on dwelling peacefully in all places, as conveyed by the maxim, "wherever you live is the capitol" (*sumeba miyako*), and in each moment one's surrounding milieu is valorized and rationalized in a kind of psychological inevitability; at the same time prajna-intuition[143] reflects and accepts things, as indicated by such expressions as "the *samādhi* of oceanic reflection," "the *samādhi* of the jeweled mirror," and "the locus of absolute nothingness." As a result, before the tenacity of a will directed toward changing the objective environment can arise, the person gets carried away by the fluid elegance (*fūryū*) of contemplation.[144]

This contemplative approach even colors what might appear to be the most active arena of Japanese culture: "It is interesting that the art of archery and other martial arts, which were originally for the sake of doing battle with enemies, shifted in an age of peace to the Way of archery and [other] martial paths through which one confronts oneself, and they were internalized, philosophized, and systematized, and at the same time made contemplative. Each and every 'Way' is contemplative. That is to say, through each Way one comes to dwell peacefully within pre-existing social conditions, within the framework of the existing system."[145] Ultimately, despite reigning Buddhist discourse of "no-self," "our thought and action get tied up with a kind of self-alienation in the quietism (*seijaku-shugi*) of true insight, and sadness and anger do not emerge in response to the sadness and tragedy produced each day by structural evil and political evil in actuality—this amounts to what can be called an adept's egoism (*tatsujinteki-egoizumu*)."[146]

This lofty, elite consciousness of Zen throws hurdles in front of attempts to formulate a critical social ethic. Contemplating things in this world as rising and falling like bubbles, stained with human ignorance and karma,[147] Zen consciousness slips into detached cautiousness, a "safety-first" approach, and undermines ethical volition. Ensconced in this contemplative "true insight," what Zen Buddhists negate is not "retrogressive and passive resignation but, rather, constructive praxis, regarding it as empty and false,[148] as ignorant human karma."[149] Measured by the Asian yardstick for the perfect person, "opposition and protest indicate a lack of maturity and are, in a manner of speaking, a vice. The life of enlightened insight (*takkan*)—with its disinterestedness, magnanimity, and tranquility—constitutes the scenery of the full maturation at the pinnacle of the Asian character."[150]

Insofar as the practitioner accepts and becomes one with whatever he or she encounters, Zen peace of mind is neutral (*chūsei*) or indifferent (*muki*) in the realm of social ethics, and for this reason, in Zen circles, "it was not odd to see the quick switch soon after August 15, 1945, from Imperial-Way Buddhism to all-humankind Buddhism."[151] Looking to reform postwar Zen, Ichikawa comments: "Is this not what occurs when 'to forget the self is to be confirmed by all things'? The mission of contemporary Zen is to overcome the kind of 'freedom in necessity' (*hitsuzen-soku-jiyū*) that accommodates the status quo, and then to search for a new social ethic."[152]

Collaboration with Japanese imperialism also derived from the traditional Zen emphasis on "according with circumstances."[153] With its doctrine of according with things (*sokubutsu-shugi*), Zen assumes a sociopolitical stance of conformism or "accommodationism" (*junnō-shugi*) that rejects conflict. As we have seen, Ichikawa traces this approach back beyond Sengcan and Bodhidharma to the Daoist inputs to Zen, such as the *Dao De Jing* statement about how "[t]he best are like water," to which Ichikawa adds the gloss, "According with a round vessel, settling in conformity with all places, calming down in compliance with all places—[to water] squares and circles are the same."[154] And he detects this accommodationism in Linji's advocacy of "entrusting oneself to things as they come" (*nin'nun*), about which Ichikawa argues, "If we apply this wisdom to daily living, it amounts to a doctrine of accommodating the times (*taisei-junnō-shugi*)."[155] That is to say, "One tends to engage in a way of living that does not fight the pre-existing actuality pressing upon oneself but, contrariwise, accommodates it."[156]

Living like the water that takes the shape of whatever vessel into which it is poured, Zen Buddhists run the risk of succumbing to a kind of flexible, shifting submission that lacks the consistency of principles, convictions, and actions necessary for a critical social ethic.[157] In the modern context, "As indicated in the line [in the *Record of Linji*], 'The mind turns in accordance with the myriad circumstances,' one creates a way of living that adapts daily to the new historical state of affairs; in the age of the Imperial Way one conducts oneself imperialistically, and in an age of democracy one conducts oneself democratically. Because one does not dwell in any one place, one lives in accordance with all places."[158] This strategy of "turning in accordance with myriad circumstances" and thereby accommodating one's actuality generates the kind of person who "disparages thinking, gets bogged down in adhering to actuality, and loses all ability to see clearly."[159] D. T. Suzuki seems to celebrate this, however, when he writes, "If you can affirm the world of actuality just as it is, that is true awakening."[160] This accommodationism is exacerbated by political interpretations of the doctrine of the Middle Way. Ichikawa argues that whenever Buddhism in Japan has engaged in "middle-of-the-road-ism,"

it has arrived at this political stance not by confronting oppositions and tensions in society but by taking a vague, "social improvement" approach, a safe, compromising position that steers clear of confrontation and conflict.[161]

In Zen, as portrayed by Ichikawa, one "masters" situations by "becoming one" with them and changing in accord with their change, and this constitutes internal, subjective, "spiritual" freedom. But this is not the kind of freedom through which one separates from things and criticizes or rejects them.[162] Nor is it the freedom through which one makes the seemingly impossible possible.[163] Though Buddhism makes much of attaining peace of mind, extricating oneself from suffering, and liberating all sentient beings, "it is a way of [individual] freedom and joy, not something that has to do with personal relationships between secular humans or the promises and rules in I-thou relationships."[164] Further, "Because the freedom of 'make oneself master of every situation' is the spiritual freedom of a master extricated from the mundane, it does not possess historical eyes that are in touch with actuality and productive [of change]. For people like Ryōkan and Sengai,[165] who disported themselves in a spiritual freedom gushing up from within, the demand for freedom in the mundane realm, the effort to 'become one's own master,' is troublesome, and they take little interest in this demand."[166]

Simply put, one attains Zen liberation by changing one's mental state, not one's surroundings. It is "a reformation of subjectivity or, expressed differently, the meaning of objects and one's milieu, not a reformation of those objects or that milieu."[167] In the Zen way of life of disporting oneself in a liberated state (*kyōgai*), subjectivity is not controlled by external things, for "the autonomy and tranquility of subjectivity is not violated by the way things are in the external world."[168] And in the state of mind conveyed by expressions like "As long as you have shoulders you will have something to wear; as long as you have a mouth there will be food,"[169] people do not raise the issue of social justice, much less work to secure it.[170] As a result, "the Asian way of drifting like clouds and flowing like water is a way of living akin to riding ever-shifting sand. This is the way of thinking of a mindless infant. Upon drifting sand or in the play of an infant, however, we cannot achieve social justice."[171]

Though Zen may appear to offer total freedom, we must recognize that "it is impossible to be constantly or completely free from heteronomy" insofar as we consciously or unconsciously regulate ourselves in accordance with our life situations.[172] If we fail to recognize this or do not integrate this recognition into our thinking and belief system, we will succumb to overconfidence, self-deception, and grandiloquence,[173] as seen in the actions of Buddhist leaders during the war. Unfortunately, "Buddhists have failed to engage in structural analysis of the ways in which the Zen figures who lived as absolute subjects (*zettai shutai*) were at the

same time 'imperial subjects' (*nanji shinmin*) and were objectified by the *gaze* of those in political power."[174]

In his exposition of freedom, Ichikawa emphasizes the difference between not falling into cause and effect (*furaku-inga*) and not obscuring or being confused by cause and effect (*fumai-inga*),[175] in other words, being in the world but not of the world. For all of Zen's talk about freedom and not being confused by cause and effect, its actions were entangled thoroughly in causes and effects in the modern political realm. Zen "gave the 'holy war' a grounding in 'wisdom' (*prajñā*) yet did not even maintain the two-level theory of truth that would 'render unto God what is God's and render unto Caesar what is Caesar's.' As a result, the Zen principle of 'necessity is none other than freedom,' of 'not being confused by cause and effect' (*fumai-inga*), changed into the principle of following along with actuality (*genjitsu-tsuizui-shugi*)."[176]

Deploying the distinction between freedom *of* religion and freedom *from* religion (and from conventional morality), Ichikawa also criticizes Zen for failing to operate free from the religion of State Shinto and free from the quasi-religious morality embodied in the Imperial Rescript on Education and *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai*.[177] Bought into this state religion with its civic morality, Zen leaders contributed to the crackdown on religious movements that stood in tension with it: "The reactionary character of Imperial-Way Zen and Imperial-Way Buddhism lies in the fact that their advocates *stepped forward on their own volition and negated freedom of religion*."[178] The key question for Ichikawa is how Zen Buddhists, "in the midst of the 'total spiritual mobilization of the national people' of the 'divine country Japan' might have 'entered the world of things without being confused by things.'"[179] This is the question of how Zen thinkers might have developed absolute religious freedom into a critical ethic at the time of the "clarification of the *kokutai*" (*kokutai meichō*), "active support for the Imperial Way" (*kōdō yokusan*), and the "holy war" (*seisen*), how they might have followed Bunan's lead—"While living, become a dead person, then do as you wish"—and "dealt a painful blow of the staff to the rampancy of parochial, arrogant State Shinto."[180] Unfortunately, though, Zen "failed to become like a dead person while alive and, in response to imperial-system fascism, failed to 'destroy falsehood and reveal truth' (*haja kenshō*)."[181]

Zen freedom, then, is an existential freedom attained by embracing necessity or inevitability (*hitsuzen-soku-jiyū*), by accepting the given rather than by transforming the given in ways that serve other kinds of freedom—political, economic, or social.[182] In light of this shortcoming, Ichikawa questions modern instances of "becoming master of one's situation" and "the mind's turning in accordance with the myriad circumstances." He problematizes the "situation" of which Zen has made people master:

> Is it the situation in which one is placed or participates? Is it a matter of attaining freedom in the sense of becoming master of one's situation by changing in accordance with it? Are we to take the personal initiative to act above and beyond what we are commanded to do, as in the "unquestioning compliance with the Emperor's directives," rather than resisting or grudgingly obeying "supreme command(s) in the holy war"? In other words, is becoming master of one's situation a matter of living as a faithful and pliant organization man who through self-discipline admonishes himself against civil disobedience?[183]

Historically, the situations in which Zen has become "master" are the realms of warriors, the military, the anticommunist right wing, the industrial sector,[184] and the modern state. As Nishida Kitarō put it, "Religiously awakened people can become 'master of every situation' as the self-determination of the absolute present. In all respects these people are active. . . . For them, 'wherever they stand is the true [place].' . . . From a true religious awakening one can submit to the state."[185] Ichikawa suggests that to "become master of every situation" could have taken the form of public criticism of the war,[186] but almost all Zen figures chose to function as "masters" of a different sort. To quote Iida Tōin once again, "If one becomes master of every situation, the place where the mind turns is truly profound. Mountains are mountains; the sovereign is the sovereign; waters are waters; subjects are subjects. The great imperial nation of Japan—*banzai*, *banzai*!"[187] Cognizant of this posture of wartime Zen leaders, Hisamatsu Shin'ichi wrote, "Zen often speaks of 'becoming master of every situation,' but during the war did this not become a situation in which Zen became opportunistic and, rather than becoming a master (*shu*) of circumstances, tended to have its mind snatched by circumstances and thus became a guest (*kyaku*) of those circumstances?"[188] Ichikawa answers in the affirmative and adds that Zen does not provide a principle or standard for distinguishing between "becoming master" and "becoming guest" of a situation, especially when the situation is a complex and ethically charged moment in history.[189]

Ichikawa further argues that certain forms of Buddhist logic and metaphysics, especially as interpreted by modern Zen thinkers, can prop up Zen's accommodationist social stance, whether by serving to legitimate the status quo, privileging the sociopolitical totality relative to its constituents, or valorizing certain particulars therein. Ichikawa focuses repeatedly on Mahāyāna emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā)* and nothingness (Ch. *wu*, J. *mu*), the Huayan Buddhist treatment of the relationship between particular things (Ch. *shi*, J. *ji*) and universal principle (Ch. *li*, J. *ri*), and the Buddhist concepts *soku* ("none other than") and *sokuhi* (is/not). In particular, he criticizes how these constructs have been interpreted by D. T. Suzuki

with his "logic of *sokuhi*" and Nishida Kitarō with his notions of the "absolutely contradictory self-identity" (*zettai mujunteki jiko-dō'itsu*) and the "logic of place" (*basho no ronri*).

Nagarjuna (c. 150–250 CE) and other Mahāyāna thinkers formulated *śūnyatā* as a reworking of the earlier Buddhist notion of interrelational arising (Skt. *pratītya-samutpāda*, J. *engi*). This doctrine connotes that all things are "empty" of any soul or unchanging, independent essence. In positive terms, *śūnyatā* connotes that all "things" are processive events constituted through causal and logical interrelationship with other things. This concept that nothing exists independent of other things or has any essence prior to or separate from its interaction with them has been given a popular expression by Vietnamese Zen teacher Thich Nhat Hanh: "What we call a self is made only of nonself elements. When we look at a flower, for example, we may think that it is different from 'nonflower' things. But when we look more deeply, we see that everything in the cosmos is in that flower. Without all of the nonflower elements—sunshine, clouds, earth, minerals, heat, rivers, and consciousness—a flower cannot be."[190] As the process of interrelational arising through which "things" emerge as temporary events, *śūnyatā* is not separate from these things. Hence, as conveyed by the line in the *Heart Sūtra* (*Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*), "Form is none other than emptiness; emptiness is none other than form,"[191] all forms, all things—or, better yet, all formed *events*—are "empty" of any unchanging core, and emptiness as the process of interrelational arising is found only in the arising and disappearing of those things, not transcendent of them. About these events, the constituents of reality, Robert Carter writes, "They are empty, they co-exist with all else, and so penetrate and are penetrated by all else. The result is stereoscopic vision; the seeing of the part and the whole, the particular and the emptiness, the thingly-ness and the emptiness at one and the same time."[192]

This aspect of "at one and the same time" is conveyed by the Japanese ideograph *soku*,[193] translated as "none other than" in the line just cited from the *Heart Sūtra*, "Form is none other than emptiness; emptiness is none other than form." The character *soku* denotes the non-dual relationship between the universal principle (emptiness) and the particular thing (form). To convey the notion that each "thing" or event is constituted by and in turn affects myriad other things, Buddhist thinkers have deployed another expression, "Each particular thing is none other than (*soku*) all things, and all things are none other than (*soku*) that thing."[194] The construct *soku* also appears in a formulation with social ramifications: "differences-*soku*-equality, equality-*soku*-differences."[195] And as sketched earlier, Ichikawa construes Zen as advancing a type of freedom that exhibits *soku*: "necessity-*soku*-freedom, freedom-*soku*-necessity";[196] here *soku* conveys the apparently

contradictory notion that by fully accepting necessity one finds freedom, or, in more existential terms, by entering directly into or embracing impermanence one is liberated from it, and this idea has generated the Mahāyāna expression, "samsara-*soku*-nirvana, nirvana-*soku*-samsara."

The common form of these constructions is A-*soku*-B, B-*soku*-A, with A and B being contradictory,[197] and the element of negation in *soku* finds explicit expression in the related construct *soku-hi*, is/not, identity/difference. James Heisig writes, "By combining *soku* . . . with the negative particle *hi*, we have the formula *soku-hi*, or affirming by negating. The classic source for this is in the *Diamond Sūtra* saying that 'All things are because all things just as they are [*soku*], are not [*hi*].'"[198] That line in the *Diamond Sūtra* has also been translated as "what people speak of as all dharmas[199] are not all dharmas; for this reason they are called all dharmas."[200] That is to say, as an affirmation through negation, *sokuhi* conveys the idea that "what a person refers to as A *is non*-A, therefore it is called A," or as D. T. Suzuki put it, "To say that A is A is [to say that] A *is not* A, *therefore* A *is* A."[201]

In the case of "each particular thing is none other than (*soku*) all things" or "one *soku* many" (*ichi-soku-ta*), the one is none other than the many, but not in any direct identity, for it is an identity (*soku*) through negation (*hi*) in two senses. No thing exists in itself as an independent entity with a permanent core or soul. Each thing is *constituted by all things* (*soku*) yet is *not identical to* (*hi*) those things, for it has its own particularity. And it *exists* (*soku*; is A) precisely by *lacking any permanent, separate essence* (*hi*; is not A). In short, each existing thing is neither (*hi*) in possession of a separate essence nor (*hi*) identical to the things that constitute it. Expressed in terms of Thich Nhat Hanh's example, *sokuhi* indicates that what we call a flower *is* actually *non*-flower; that is to say, it is constituted by myriad non-flower things. And while it is none other than (*soku*) all of the non-flower things that constitute it, it is not identical to (*hi*) them, for it has its own particularity. And as something constituted by an array of non-flower elements, it is (*soku*) a flower because it is not (*hi*) a flower in the sense of something with a separate "flower" essence or soul.[202] To use Suzuki's formula, "what a person refers to as flower *is non*-flower [i.e., is constituted by non-flower things and is devoid of any flower essence], *therefore* it *is* called a flower [or, therefore it can exist as a flower]." Along these lines, contemporary Zen thinker Akizuki Ryōmin refers to things having a *sokuhi-teki jiko-dō'itsu*, a self-identity in the manner of *sokuhi*.[203] He writes, "'*Soku*' is, to be exact, '*sokuhi*.' The negation of negation is none other than affirmation. It is an affirmation through the mediation of negation. It is 'absolute negation is none other than [*soku*] absolute affirmation.' In this (*sokuhi*) one sees 'suchness' (things just as they are, the reality of as-it-is-ness that is none other than *tathatā*, true suchness). This is 'satori.'"[204]

The logic of *sokuhi* is evident in Nishida Kitarō's philosophy.[205] In *Fundamental Problems of Philosophy* (*Tetsugaku no konpon mondai*) Nishida writes,

> Reality is both being and non-being; it is being-qua-nonbeing and nonbeing-qua-being [*u-soku-mu, mu-soku-u*]. It is both subjective and objective, both *noema* and *noesis*. Subjectivity and objectivity are absolutely opposed, but reality is the unity of subjectivity and objectivity, i.e., the self-identity of this absolute opposition. Indeed, it is not that subjectivity and objectivity unite, and are then actual. Both can be conceived from a dialectical reality, i.e. from a dynamic reality which is self-determining. Self-determining reality, i.e. dynamic reality, must be self-contradictory.[206]

This leads Nishida to coin the complex expression *zettai mujunteki jiko-dō'itsu*, which has lent itself to such translations as "absolutely contradictory self-identity," "self-identity of absolute contradictories," "identity of contraries," and "identity in contradiction." Nishida's student Nishitani Keiji glosses this construct:

> Life and death are, by nature, contradictory opposites . . . along with that absolute opposition there appears the absolute inseparability of life and death. Although contradictory opposites in their natures and conceptually distinguishable as such, life and death make themselves present to us not as two separate things but rather as one inseparable unity in which there is full distinction without any separation whatsoever. The self-identity of this unity cannot be a self-identity in the objective sense, since nothing objective can be constituted out of contradictory elements. . . . The oneness in question here is absolutely nonobjective and absolutely nonobjectifiable. . . . In order to express this sort of unity, the terms "life-*soku*-death," "affirmation-*soku*-negation," and so forth have been adopted here.[207]

In short, *soku* does not indicate a direct equation or identity, but a relationship mediated by negation, as highlighted by the extrapolation *soku-hi*.

In his critique of Zen, Suzuki, and Nishida, Ichikawa highlights a number of issues surrounding *soku* and *sokuhi*. In an essay titled "The Logic of *Sokuhi* and the Contemporary Age" ("Sokuhi no ronri to gendai"), he writes, "The world of everyday experience is not the world of wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*). Between the two lies the negation of the standpoint of the self that knows in terms of objective logic."[208] He continues, "For consciousness operating in terms of objective logic that dis-

criminates between subject and object and thinks about things 'over there,' to be emptied is for the form or appearance (*sō*) of the object in one's consciousness to be emptied. The *hi* of *sokuhi* is the negation of the standpoint and content of the consciousness that discriminates in its knowing, not of some object as a thing-in-itself or *an sich*."[209] That is to say, the negation (*hi*) in *sokuhi* is thus primarily of the subject, of the form or appearance (*sō*) of objects as worked up by consciousness, not of objects themselves that might otherwise be evaluated, criticized, and negated. Although in the Buddhist soteriological scheme one must negate the subjectivity that mistakenly views as permanent the impermanent events that make up actuality and thereby foster true insight (*taikan*), "the total negation in that insight is a total affirmation of objective facts."[210] This epistemology finds expression in *Inscriptions on Faith in Mind*, one line of which reads, "When a mind does not arise, the ten-thousand things are without fault." About this line Ichikawa writes, "through affirmation the world of actuality is accepted and one ultimately settles down into the true insight (*taikan*) of the *Lotus Sūtra*, 'All things abide in their fixed order, [hence] the world abides forever.'"[211]

While affirming things in the world, this insight in the mode of *sokuhi* tends to privilege the identity and harmonious unity between the external objects that escape negation. Ichikawa writes, "Negation is the essential moment, and this negation is not a negation of the object [of thought] or of action, but fundamentally a negation of thought that operates through objective logic and of one's attitude toward action. As conveyed by the expression, 'to forget the self is to be confirmed by the ten-thousand things,' the dialectic [of *sokuhi*] comes to take on a contemplative character and the identity between opposing things becomes prominent [relative to the contradictions]."[212] With this privileging of identity, the standpoint of *sokuhi* easily slips into what Ichikawa terms a "monistic view (*ichigen kan*) of seeing nature and human life, or nature and society, as one. . . . In premodern times this monistic and unitary view gave birth to a cosmology with a pan-naturalistic view of human morality (or, expressed in reverse, a pan-moralistic view of nature)."[213] It thus generated, as we will see in more detail in chapter three, "the mentality of accepting the order of the human world as a mimesis of, extension of, or entity corresponding to, the order of the natural world, and this way of thinking emerged in circumstances with little prospect of changing nature through the natural sciences or of reforming systems of power through the masses."[214]

Ichikawa further argues that the logic of *sokuhi* historically has been "the logic of a mental state that is static, aesthetic, and contemplative."[215] As indicated by "[i]f there are no idle matters in your mind, for you it is a good season,"[216] the approach of *sokuhi* "evaporates the standpoint of moral struggle deriving from anger at injustice and simultaneously affirms the framework of customary morality."[217] More

specifically, the negation of the "self"—ordinary discriminating consciousness—also negates that self's action: "Insofar as good acts are predicated upon everyday, discriminating consciousness, the implication is that they must be discarded as the karma of defiling outflows."[218] At the sociopolitical level then, "The logic of *sokuhi* is contemplative and not engaged in praxis (*hi-jissenteki*); and for this reason it is conservative toward actual conditions, it is a logic of peaceful dwelling in all places (*zuisho anjū*)."[219] Or, expressed slightly differently, "In the world of freedom and joy in which contradiction is none other than (*soku*) identity, there is no motivation or foothold to treat contradictions and conflicts as things that should be overcome and to spur subjectivities into objective praxis, and in this respect the logic of *prajñā-sokuhi* must be criticized. . . . The contradictions and conflicts of history lose importance, [agents of] thought and action become self-alienated in the quietism of true insight (*taikan*), and people do not feel much sadness and anger over the unhappiness and tragedy produced each and every day by the structural evils and political evils in actuality. We cannot find in this any foundation on which social justice can secure a footing."[220]

The logic of *sokuhi* thus pertains to a mental conversion that negates our ordinary consciousness and generates a static, aesthetic perspective, a detached, subjective harmony with things around oneself. The net effect is a contemplative acceptance of actuality, not a dynamic theoretical framework from which one can confront actuality or a historical praxis through which one can negate and transform material conditions. As Ichikawa puts it, the logic of *sokuhi* "weakens interest in political and social liberation of people."[221]

The religious epistemology and logic of Zen are thus a recipe for passivity and acquiescence in the face of power. "The logic of *sokuhi* is an emptying—in terms of both knowledge and action—of the egoity in the subject. The problem is that of what, once the ego is emptied, it should do. One response might be to serve the 'whole.' But what is that whole? In most modern societies, at the largest scale the most dominant fact is the power of the bureaucratic nation-state."[222] As Ichikawa puts it in another essay, "The logic of *sokuhi* of Mahāyāna Buddhism, [operating in] the true insight expressed by 'the Sahā world[223] is none other than the [Pure] Land of Tranquil Light' (*shaba-soku-jakkōdo*), envelopes the daily life of subjects who accord with state power, but it has never included thought and action that resist or negate state power. It concerns only the actuality that supports and protects the [state] system, never the actuality of revolutionarily changing the system. . . .This is because the logic of *hi* that constitutes one facet of the logic of *soku* is not a logic of a negation that reforms external phenomena but a logic that negates objective logic and establishes a contemplative approach to things."[224] This played out in twentieth-century Japan: "The logic of *sokuhi*, that is, the logic of the self-identity

of absolute contradictories in which non-freedom is none other than freedom and 'to become servant of every situation' (to obliterate the self and serve the public in the holy war) is to 'become master of every situation' (as in Mahāyāna Zen), played the . . . social and political role [of supporting and protecting the imperial system]."[225] Simply put, "More than a logic of confrontation and rejection, this is a logic of magnanimity and harmony."[226] This logic in and of itself thus provides no basis for critical evaluation of societies or for praxis aimed at transforming a society from what it "is" to what it might be or "ought" to be. Insofar as the logic of *sokuhi* does take into account the objective realm of society, "what the logic of *sokuhi* grasps is not the actuality of society's latent buds, or the quickening of actuality that contains contradictions and tries to give birth to new forms, but the manifest, rooted, established facet of actuality, and upon this foothold the logic of *sokuhi* can easily become concretized as a *backward-looking* actuality-ism (*genjitsu-shugi*)."[227]

This "actuality-ism" looms large when Ichikawa builds on his critique of the moral and political ramifications of the Mahāyāna logic of *sokuhi* to criticize Nishida's philosophy. Ichikawa sees Nishida as succumbing to "actuality-ism" insofar as he was steeped in the Japanese "national character" (*kokumin-sei*) and ethos of "according with actuality" (*genjitsu-junnō*), an orientation Ichikawa detects in Shinto, National Learning (*kokugaku*), and Japanized Mahāyāna Buddhism.[228] Ichikawa refers to Nishida's standpoint of actuality-ism as "absolute objectivism" (*zettai-kyakkan-shugi*) and "factism" (*jijitsu-shugi*) and contends that it valorizes actuality and thereby contributes to people's accordance with it.[229]

Ichikawa regards Zen and Nishida's focus on actuality and everyday living as part and parcel of "the daily-life wisdom arrived at by Asians who do not have a God."[230] Ichikawa explains,

> People found ultimate repose in everyday living because they saw the infinite in the finite, the whole in the part, eternity in time, the transmundane in the mundane, and no-living-dying in living-dying. It is the way of life of direct confirmation in which one sees the profound in the shallow, the distant in the near. The actuality of unease and anguish is, just as it is (*sono mama*), the place of repose, the locus where the self approaches the absolute other in inverse correspondence (*gyakutaiō-teki ni*). The logical structure of this world is identity in absolute contradiction (*sokuhi*). That which hammered together the logic of reality (actuality) and the logic of peace of mind is none other than the logic of *sokuhi* or *soku*.[231]

By "logic of reality" Ichikawa seems to be referring to two types of relationship involving *soku*: (1) "particular thing A *soku* all other things" in terms of the principle of interrelational arising, where A is constituted by all non-A "things" while also affecting all non-A things, (2) in the *Heart Sūtra*, "emptiness-*soku*-form," or in Huayan Buddhist terms, "principle-*soku*-particular" (*ri-soku-ji*), whereby the universal principle does not stand apart from the particular thing but is found therein. By "logic of peace of mind," Ichikawa is presumably referring to *soku* in more existential terms, as in freedom-*soku*-necessity or nirvana-*soku*-samsara, the arriving at one pole by penetrating and breaking through (negating) the other.[232] Ichikawa offers some further explanation in traditional Buddhist epistemological terms: "From the standpoint of *sokuhi*, Nishida expounds on the human person and links the human to the world of actuality, and in this approach *prajñā* [wisdom] is knowledge of reality and at the same time the wisdom of peace of mind."[233]

Ichikawa draws out the political ramifications of the philosophical stance of *sokuhi* and "actuality-ism" in modern Japan:

> Out of the demand for peace of mind, individuals attempt to find meaning in living within the actuality thrust upon them; to adapt to and dwell peacefully in their humanly constructed and political environments, humans need to secure some sort of reason [for living as they do]. And they try to give their doubting intellectuality some way to persuade itself [of the legitimacy of such living]. Through this, the philosophy and religion of *ji* (particular things), which entails "seeing the universal principle in the particular thing,"[234] generates an ideology that tries to find within established actuality a sufficient raison d'être for that actuality. We see this in the way the intellectual class at the time of the clarification of the *kokutai* sought a basis for cooperating with the war by giving the imperial system a metaphysical foundation.[235]

Ichikawa regards this as the "stumbling" (*tsumazuki*) of Nishida during the war, while noting that Nishida was not alone in being affected by the philosophical orientation of *sokuhi*:

> By taking this cosmology as its presupposition, basis, or background, the symbolic philosophy of the Huayan dharma realms (*hokkai*) represented by the Vairocana Buddha in the Great Buddha Hall [at Tōdaiji in Nara] provided an ideological foundation for citizens' (*kokumin*) self-effacing submission to the charismatic "one ruler, myriad subjects" (*ikkun-manmin*) system. It did this not so much in terms of a logic of

> seeing the particular thing in [the context of] the universal principle, but in terms of a logic of seeing the principle within the thing. At the time of wartime fascism, the Japanese Huayan logic of "the thing is none other than the principle" (*ji-soku-ri*), through the mediation of the actuality-ism of Nishida's "see the principle in the thing" and the logic of Tanabe's "historical actuality" in which "the 'is' is none other than the 'ought'" (*jijitsu-soku-tōi*), provided a means by which intellectuals who had been troubled by the conflict between the logic of actuality and the logic of conscience were able to find justification for their support of the "holy war."[236]

Or, as Ichikawa put it more harshly, "In the context of the anticommunist and antipeace stance seen in the romantically emotional cluster of such concepts as absolute nothingness, [unique] historical actuality, no-self, the identity of contradiction, and 'destroying the self to serve the public,' many Japanese spread the pollution of their no-self philosophy and extended holy-war egoism throughout Asia."[237]

On a personal note, Ichikawa outlined how the zeitgeist of "actuality-ism" affected him:

> Lying deep in my consciousness was the true thought (*tainen*) that seeing facts "just as they are," accepting actuality "just as it is," and according with the laws of facts and actuality—that is to say, making into one's subjectivity the wisdom that discerns in actuality that necessity is none other (*soku*) than freedom—constituted the path to peace of mind in which one "sees the universal principle in the particular thing." And when I faced actuality in terms of the *kokutai*, this thought became a trans-ego foundation for my submissive conformity to the power of that actuality.[238]

This social stance was not cultivated by Zen epistemology and metaphysics alone, for traditional Zen views of society and history also contributed to the religion's acceptance of "actuality."

CHAPTER THREE

Indebted in Our Proper Places

Zen's political stances cannot be attributed solely to the "accommodationism" deriving from Zen peace of mind or to metaphysical schemes that valorize the status quo. Ichikawa also criticized Zen's approach to society and history, focusing on its view of equality, inequality, and karma; the notion that "differences are none other than equality"; "pan-moralism" in East Asia; Zen's treatment of poverty, class, and attachment; the Japanese emphasis on harmony; the conflation of inner and outer laws; the doctrine of blessings and indebtedness (*on*); East Asian ancestor worship; the spirituality of the aged; and Zen views of history.

In attempts to formulate theories of human rights and democracy, some Buddhist thinkers have tried to secure a Buddhist basis for the intrinsic value and equality of humans by employing the Mahāyāna doctrine that, as articulated in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, "All sentient beings entirely possess buddha-nature."[1] At the end of the Meiji period, progressive Zen priest Uchiyama Gudō drew from this statement and the line in the *Lotus Sūtra*, "within the Dharma there is equality, with neither superior nor inferior," to argue for distributive justice for the poor in Japan.[2] Ichikawa regards the doctrine of equality in terms of shared buddha-nature as analogous to the Christian doctrine that all humans have been equally created in the image of God (*imago Dei*) and to the idea that all of the faithful are equal, as Paul writes to the Galatians (3:26, 28): "for in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith. . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."[3]

With the rare exception of a handful of thinkers like Uchiyama, however, the construct of buddha-nature historically has not generated Buddhist arguments for equal rights and privileges. The equality on which Buddhism usually focuses is

"the equality of monks who have left home, and equality in the dimension where humans have been reduced to their buddha-nature."[4] That is to say, even though the historical Buddha did criticize the Indian caste system of his time and the doctrine of shared buddha-nature could ground arguments for social equality, Buddhists in Asia have believed that "while all sentient beings might be equal *in their buddha-nature*, they are not equal *as humans*."[5]

This inequality takes such forms as differences in health, wealth, and status, and in the eyes of traditional Buddhism these differences are acceptable, for they are the result of karma. "Human beings are equal only in that we all possess buddha-nature and hence have the potentiality of becoming buddhas. Differing social positions, abilities, and circumstances are the retributive fruits of good and bad actions in previous existences."[6] This framework has also been deployed to account for one's sex, for why some have been reborn as women, who are viewed in Buddhist sources as more ignorant than men and more apt to cling to things, and for these and other reasons confront "five obstacles" (Skt. *pañcāvaraṇāni*), five limits to their religious paths.[7]

Zen thinkers have accepted, explained, and justified societal differences in terms of karma, the "doctrine of the law of cause and effect across the three worlds [of past, present, and future]" (*sanze-inga setsu*), which limited the impact of early Buddhist arguments about the equality of the four castes (*shishō byōdō*).[8] Ichikawa singles out Hakuin as a prime example of a Zen thinker who affirms equality at the fundamental level of buddha-nature—the first line of his *Chant in Praise of Zazen* (*Zazen Wasan*) reads, "Sentient beings are fundamentally buddhas"—while accepting the doctrine that karma determines social standing. In *Song in Praise of the Practice of Giving* (*Segyō uta*),[9] Hakuin justifies inequality:

> Those who have riches and honors in this world are reaping the fruits of seeds that they planted in previous lifetimes. . . . This life depends on the seeds from previous lifetimes, and the future depends on seeds from this lifetime. The amount of wealth and honor depends on the amount of seeds sown. In this lifetime there is not much for us to sow, so select good seeds and sow them. . . . People who have to go and scavenge food that has been thrown away by others did not sow sufficient seeds in their previous existence, so now they are beggars.[10]

In light of passages such as these, Ichikawa likens Hakuin to Calvin, who affirmed equality before God and inequality in society.[11]

Hakuin is not the only Zen figure to use the doctrine of karma to justify social inequality. In *Zen Exchanges in Dreams* (*Muchū-mondō*), Musō Soseki

(1275–1351) offers a karmic justification of poverty: "Being poor in this lifetime is karmic retribution for greed in a previous life."[12] And in *Virtuous Action for All People* (*Banmin-tokuyō*), Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655) writes, "Distinctions between noble and humble, high and low, rich and poor, gain and loss, and long life and short life are all due to karma from past lives,"[13] and the accompanying message is for Japanese to "know their rightful station in life."[14] At the World's Parliament of Religions in 1893, D. T. Suzuki's teacher Shaku Sōen declared, "We are here enjoying or suffering the effect of what we have done in our past lives. . . . We are born in a world of variety; some are poor and unfortunate, others are wealthy and happy. This variety will be repeated again and again in our future lives. But to whom shall we complain of our misery? To none but ourselves!"[15]

Through the doctrine of karma, Zen and other Buddhists have linked goodness to happiness and evil to unhappiness.[16] "Aristocrat and commoner, rich and poor, male and female, and happiness and unhappiness were grasped as differences with accompanying moral valuation."[17] By valorizing wealth and social status (*chi'i-mibun*), with wealth and high status resulting from having been a good person and poverty and low status resulting from having been bad,[18] Buddhists also provided an answer to the perennial question of the connection between virtue and happiness that Kant and other philosophers have addressed. And with their attribution of social differences to the universal law of karma, "the social order of different statuses was granted a metaphysical basis."[19] Simply put, through the lens of karma people are seen as occupying their proper places, as existing in a "natural" order that is simultaneously a moral order. In the words of Yasutani Haku'un, "Everyone should act according to their position in society. Those who are in a superior position should take pity on those below, while those who are below should revere those who are above. Men should fulfill the Way of men while women observe the Way of women, making absolutely sure that there is not the slightest confusion between their respective roles."[20] To Yasutani, this is not an issue facing Japan alone. He continues, "It is therefore necessary to defeat thoroughly the propaganda and strategy of the Jews. That is to say, we must clearly point out the fallacy of their evil ideas advocating freedom and equality, ideas that have dominated the world up to the present time."[21]

What we hear from Yasutani and other Japanese Buddhist thinkers is a de facto Buddhist theory of justice, in which the doctrine of karma explains individual circumstances and justifies broader societal arrangements.[22] Their theory, however, limits "justice" to retributive justice (*ōhō-seigi*) and compensatory justice (*hoshō-seigi*), meted out through the workings of karma.[23] To their way of thinking, our being equally subject to and yet differentiated by the law of cause and effect constitutes true equality and justice.[24] "This should be seen," Ichikawa tells us,

"as one example of Buddhist ideology in a relatively stable feudal society."[25] Needless to say, this ideology justifies discrimination and resignation, both of which get exacerbated by further claims about what is natural, such as the claim that women are more caught up in karma than are men because of their constitutionally graver ignorance and desire.[26]

The law of karma is not the only construct Buddhists have deployed to mitigate the tension between the underlying equality of shared buddha-nature and social differences. They have also lifted up the notion that "differences are none other than equality" (*shabetsu-soku-byōdō*).[27] In his study of modern Japanese religion and society, Winston Davis comments,

> According to the teachings of Mahāyāna, making ontological distinctions (*shabetsu*) within the totality of the Buddha-mind was equivalent to wandering in pain and illusion. For this reason all dualities and differences had to be overcome. What then could one make of the actual differences in wealth, power, and ability pandemic in human affairs? Japanese Buddhists sanctioned these differences with the slogan "discrimination (or difference) is [*soku*] equality; equality is discrimination" (*shabetsu-soku-byōdō*; *byōdō-soku-shabetsu*). In Meiji Japan, the ideal of a discriminating egalitarianism could, and easily did, accommodate a considerable degree of inequality.[28]

That is to say, insofar as they have embraced this notion that "differences are none other than equality," modern Japanese Buddhists have generally accepted the differences and discrimination permeating social, political, and economic life and viewed them as inseparable from a deeper religious equality.[29] Coupling this construct with the doctrine of karma, Zen thinkers have formulated a "philosophy of non-contention and resignation, which taught people to be satisfied with their present condition and status"[30] and made it harder for them to recognize that social distinctions are not karmic fruits but human creations in class societies.[31]

Some modern Japanese Buddhists have even brandished the notion of "evil equality" (*aku-byōdō*) to attack those who would seek to remedy inequalities in the secular realm, as if the attempt to ameliorate social discrimination were a violation of the natural law of karma and a misplaced search for equality that ignorantly overlooks the more important underlying religious equality of shared buddha-nature. Toyoda Dokutan (1840–1917), head of the Myōshinji branch of Rinzai Zen, wrote after the High Treason Incident, "We make certain that adherents of our sect always keep in mind love of country and absolute loyalty [to the emperor] . . . that they don't ignore the doctrine of karma or fall into the trap of believing in the

heretical idea of 'evil equality.'"[32] Ichikawa criticizes Toyoda and other prominent Buddhists who from the nineteenth century marshaled this argument in their attacks on socialists, Christian activists, labor organizers, and human rights advocates working, like Uchiyama Gudō did, for more egalitarian social and economic arrangements. He comments that Buddhist conservatives, with no small measure of alarmism, "attacked socialism as a philosophy of evil equality that would level mountains to fill in rivers."[33]

Ichikawa reminds his readers that despite all the rhetoric about a "tolerant" Buddhism in contrast to "intolerant" biblical traditions, from the Meiji period most Japanese Buddhists succumbed to clear intolerance when they criticized socialism and communism as doctrines of evil equality while ignorantly failing to recognize that central to socialist thought was "the construction of a discriminatory society," a society that took differences seriously in basing itself on "the principle of 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his need.'"[34] And what is worse, those Buddhists "never decisively criticized as 'evil differences' the extreme discrimination that permeated the Japanese conceptualization of the peoples of Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia, nor did they criticize as 'evil equality' the campaign to turn those others [equally] into imperial subjects (*kōminka*), a campaign that was coupled with discriminatory policies."[35]

To Ichikawa's way of thinking, then, Zen has formulated its de facto social ethic around a conceptual framework that deploys the law of karma to explain inequality, defers any change in social status to the next life (assuming the individual acts now in the way that Buddhism prescribes), and affirms equality only in the sense that all people *equally* possess buddha-nature and should all *equally* act appropriately to their places in society. Insofar as inequality and discrimination are rationalized by the theory of karma and downplayed by arguments that despite socioeconomic differences all people are fundamentally equal because they possess one and the same buddha-nature, Zen has joined other forms of Japanese Buddhism in formulating a theodicy that explains—if not justifies—inequality and takes the sting out of the suffering that usually accompanies it. In short, Zen has deployed a core Buddhist conceptual framework to legitimate the status quo.

This legitimation of social inequality has garnered support from Buddhist cosmological schemes. From Ichikawa's perspective, "The Buddhist cosmology is a type of pan-naturalism or pan-moralism, which [at the time of its formulation] took as its exemplar the differences and order of the natural world and on that basis analogized and interpreted the differences and order in society, even though Buddhists were actually projecting the differences and order of the human world onto the natural world. People interpreted the world around them on the basis of this theory of natural law supportive of the sociopolitical system, and in this

way they took the current social system to be permanent."[36] Ichikawa finds this "pan-moralism" in Hakuin, who set forth "the analogical view that sees as equal in a non-discriminating way the forms, conditions, and laws of the natural world and the structure and laws of a particular society."[37] In the twentieth century, Zen master Iida Tōin writes, "One can know cold and hot only by experiencing them for oneself. The sovereign and subjects can only be known from within. Salt is salty and sugar sweet because of their nature (*shō*). No scholar can explain this. . . . Heaven and earth are eternal, and the sovereign and subjects are everlasting."[38] A similar perspective appears in the *Lotus Sūtra*: "All things abide in their fixed order, [hence] the world abides forever."[39]

Ichikawa detects this tendency to conflate natural and human laws, the order of nature and the social order, in a range of East Asian philosophical texts. The *Da Zhuan,* a commentary on the *Yi Jing*, states, "Heaven and earth determine the rank, and the changes take effect within it. The perfected nature of man, sustaining itself and enduring, is the gateway of Dao and of justice."[40] That commentary also includes the passage, "Heaven is high, earth is low; thus the Creative and the Receptive are determined. In correspondence with this difference between high and low, inferior and superior are established."[41] The *Doctrine of the Mean* reads,

> Equilibrium (Ch. *zhong*, the mean) is the great foundation of the world (Ch. *tian-di*), and harmony its universal path. When equilibrium and harmony are realized to the highest degree, heaven and earth will attain their proper order and all things will flourish.[42]

And the *Dao De Jing* declares,

> Humans model themselves on Earth.
> Earth models itself on Heaven.
> Heaven models itself on the Dao.
> The Dao models itself on that which is naturally so.[43]

These Chinese classics offer no significant distinction between natural laws and moral laws, between natural order and social order, and in this respect, according to Ichikawa, "the worldview of the Chinese was a pan-moralism."[44]

This outlook carried over to Japan. The third article in the Seventeen-Article Constitution reads,

> When you receive the imperial commands, fail not scrupulously to obey them. The lord is Heaven, the vassal is Earth. Heaven overspreads,

> and Earth upbears. When this is so, the four seasons follow their due course, and the powers of Nature obtain their efficacy. If the Earth attempted to overspread, Heaven would simply fall into ruin. Therefore is it that when the lord speaks, the vassal listens; when the superior acts, the inferior yields compliance. Consequently when you receive the imperial commands, fail not to carry them out scrupulously. Let there be a want of care in this matter, and ruin is the natural consequence.[45]

To Ichikawa's way of thinking, "In this political philosophy, the order of the universe and the order of the state, the principles of the universe and the laws of the state, the laws of nature and the laws of human ethics, correspond and constitute a single entity."[46] As George Elison has pointed out, thinkers in the early Tokugawa period argued that "Heaven's Way was the order of nature, and the natural order inhered also in the social realm; the virtue of harmony, not the spirit of discontent, was what man obtained from Heaven. Adherence to status was the supreme duty (*taigi meibun*), and the constancy of eminent rules of behavior the essential moral imperative. The Way of government was nothing but the realization of natural norms."[47]

In his critique of the Buddhist view of social arrangements, Ichikawa also highlights issues surrounding poverty and class. He notes that some Buddhists have argued that poverty promotes the practice of the Way. Rhetoric about living a simple, rustic life figures prominently in representations of Buddhist, especially Zen, religious practice and aesthetics. But Ichikawa asks why, if poverty supports Buddhist practice, no renowned Zen figures have come from impoverished backgrounds. With this tack he urges his fellow Zen Buddhists to distinguish between the willed poverty of patronized monks and the unwilled poverty of those on the lower economic rungs of society, and then, upon that distinction, address the issue of economic need.

Elite Buddhist leaders have generally displayed nonchalance toward poverty. Zen master Daitō (1235–1308), for example, told disciples that "one will have food as long as one has a mouth."[48] Such pronouncements, Ichikawa argues, issue from "medieval holy men who lived with one robe and one bowl through the support of wealthy patrons"[49] and whose religious philosophy of life was primarily geared toward single people who were free from the challenges of supporting a family.[50] Ichikawa further claims that "the *existential* impasse central to Zen practice can be brought about only in the educated, idle elite . . . for it requires a certain ability and latitude; it is not an impasse that the toiling masses in their beastly conditions can reach."[51] Moreover, "We must not forget that this impasse, and the post-breakthrough realization that 'every day is a good day,' is supported by the burden of the inhumane work done by countless propertyless masses and 'sentient beings with [whom one has] no karmic connection' (*en-naki shujō*)."[52] Zen Buddhists must

further realize that, historically, the way of being that Linji points to with his expression "wherever you stand is the true [place]" was not possible for Zen masters without the "everywhere you stand is *falsehood*" that characterized the situation of myriad sentient beings laboring in what often were oppressive conditions far beneath such elite religious figures.[53]

Lacking this realization, however, Zen has advocated the detached, self-sufficient freedom of the social class that celebrates simplicity while feeling no need to change socioeconomic conditions, and has preached this freedom and simplicity to social classes that cannot help but desire that change. Ichikawa regards this preaching as akin to exhorting the poor to embrace the elegant aesthetic of "pure poverty" (*seihin*) in the tea houses found behind sumptuous mansions.[54] That is to say, though Zen has lifted up the lofty detachment seen in the freedom cultivated by the educated elite as the norm for those less educated, "surely it was not the norm followed by the serfs and their wives and children who in medieval downtrodden Asia were hounded by famine and the chaos of war. . . . To such countless people in that age, what was the pure excellence (*sei'itsu*) implied by such expressions as 'the bright moon and pure breeze enrich my entire life' and 'the troubles and worries of the world of things no longer bother me'?"[55]

While their karmic explanation of poverty indicates that Zen elites were not totally oblivious to the poor, with their "fatalistic and transsecular true insight (*taikan*) they overlooked the impoverished straits of lower folk."[56] In China, "because of spatial, educational, status, and karmic distance [from the poor], as well as the gap constructed between absolute (*shin*) and relative (*zoku*) truth, Zen figures did not realize the tragic actuality facing Chinese peasants."[57] And reflecting on Japan, Ichikawa asks in the early 1950s,

> Can Zen figures of our country not recognize that the sentient beings with whom they have no karmic connection are, as always, innumerable, and increasing day by day? And in conjunction with this, can they not sense the increasing severity of poverty, unemployment, degeneration, and war in the current state of affairs? Was social conscience thrown away with the shaving of their heads? Zen figures might retort that Zen is other-worldly or spiritual, that it is fundamentally a solitary path. Zen figures have been passionate in their denunciation of communism. That's fine. But what liberation movement have they developed with equal passion?[58]

In his analysis of Buddhist approaches to socioeconomic alienation, class struggle, and political struggle, Ichikawa also raises the issue of attachment (*gashū*). Attach-

ment can take two forms: fundamental attachment as a religious issue beyond morality, and social attachment as a broad expression of the ordinary self-attachment that generates a competitive mentality and operates at the moral level.[59] As a Zen thinker, Ichikawa recognizes the pitfalls of grounding ethics in the modern Western self, given that such a self suffers from fundamental ignorance and operates as the locus of attachment,[60] and he joins other Zen thinkers in criticizing this "self" and attachment to it. At the same time, however, he argues that democratic freedom and fundamental human rights were secured through long struggles and then sustained through *self*-attachment and attachment to certain things.[61] Though stepping onto the thin ice of cultural essentialism, he writes, "That which both liberated peasants and established the world of modern democracy was peoples' desire for things (*butsuyoku*), and what put the Asian world to sleep in colonial ignorance was the virtue of disinterestedness in the sense of being non-desiring (*muyoku*)."[62]

This is not to say that Ichikawa affirms attachment across the board. At one point he warns his readers, "If people only take pride in Asian spiritual depths, feel no shame over Asia's dismal serfdom, and hence make no efforts to eliminate it, Asian spirituality will have to wait to be liberated from spiritual self-attachment (*reiseiteki gashū*) and, sadly, will languish as an idol in a cave."[63] He is also wary of ethical systems rooted in collective self-attachment, as seen in the Imperial Rescript on Education with attachment to the Meiji nation-state.[64] And while agreeing with the basic Buddhist claim that attachment to oneself and to other objects is a universal condition present at all times and in all social classes, Ichikawa points out that "*in actuality*, in societies stratified by class, attachment to self and to other objects takes the *form* of phenomena with moral significance that are structurally connected to specific organizations and structures."[65] For example, the attachment of those who employ and fire workers is expressed and promoted through specific institutions, practices, and ideologies, as is the attachment of workers who may compromise and cooperate with—or in some cases resist—people who manage them. Historically, however, Buddhism has never sorted carefully the various forms of attachment, choosing instead to preach about fundamental problems of human nature.[66] In part because of this, Zen has tended to look down on ordinary forms of labor, through which the struggling masses support themselves, as "various illusions."[67]

A core component of the Buddhist approach to society, and of what Ichikawa construes as the spirit of Buddhism, is tolerance,[68] harmony, and non-resistance, as conveyed by the metaphor of the mirror.[69] Historically, these three values made their appearance on the religious stage in conjunction with state power, with harmony playing the leading role.[70] East Asian thinkers, especially Confucians, have deemed the maintenance of harmonious relationships crucial for the promotion of peace in the home, the community, and the country. While Zen was taking shape

as a religious path of harmonious acquiescence, absolutist Chinese rulers were extolling harmony as well.[71]

Exhortations about harmony and acquiescence appear from early in Japanese history. The first line of the Seventeen-Article Constitution reads, "Harmony is to be valued," and the third article admonishes the ministers to whom it was addressed, "When you receive the imperial commands, fail not scrupulously to obey them."[72] This celebration of harmony stretches from the sixth century down into modern Japan,[73] as evidenced by Zen master Shaku Sōen, who wrote during the Russo-Japanese War, "Even though the Buddha forbade the taking of life, he also taught that until all sentient beings are united together through the exercise of infinite compassion, there will never be peace. Therefore, as a means of bringing into harmony those things which are incompatible, killing and war are necessary."[74] Shin thinker Fuken Daien argued in 1943 that Japan's national character centers on harmony, as indicated by the ancient name of the country, "great harmony" (Yamato), and by the traditional value placed on the unity of the lord and his subjects and concord between superiors and inferiors, and that this core characteristic of Japan is something "worthy of utmost reverence."[75]

The Imperial Rescript to Soldiers (1882), the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890), *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai* (1937), and the *Field Service Code* (1941) all extolled harmony, so much so that Ichikawa refers to them as "the concretization of the logic of harmony."[76] In *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai* we encounter the statements, "When we trace the marks of the facts of the founding of our country and the progress of our history, what we always find there is the spirit of harmony. Harmony is a product of the great achievement of the founding of the nation, and is the power behind our historical growth; while it is also a humanitarian Way inseparable from our daily lives. The spirit of harmony is built on the concord of all things";[77] "This harmonious spirit is also widely realized in the life of the nation. In our country, under a unique family system, parent and child and husband and wife live together, supporting each other";[78] "In our country, Sovereign and subjects have from of old been spoken of as being one, and the entire nation, united in mind and acting in full cooperation, have shown forth the beauties of this oneness with the Emperor as their center. The august virtues of the Emperor and the duties of the subjects converge and unite into a beautiful harmony."[79] About this ideology of harmony, Ichikawa writes, "The Ministry of Education's *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai*, on the authority of the Seventeen-Article Constitution,[80] championed the ethic of 'great harmony' (*daiwa*). This ethic promotes the drift toward the system of one ruler and myriad subjects (*ikkun manmin*), the system in which the will of the emperor on top is conveyed to those below him."[81]

With Japan preparing for and then waging war in the 1930s, the traditional emphasis on harmony loomed large as a resource for cultivating the kind of social unity that was espoused in the declaration of war against the United States and England: "Through the one heart of the population and the combined efforts of the entire nation, let us achieve the goal of defeating our enemy in battle."[82] Ichikawa argues that the notion of harmonious unity also loomed in such ideological formulations as "100 million [united as] one mind" (*ichi'oku isshin*), "100 million sacrificed together" (*ichi'oku gyokusai*), and, right after the war, "the collective repentance of 100 million" (*ichi'oku sōsange*).[83] Looking back over that period, Ichikawa remarks that the Buddhist ideals of tolerance, harmony, and non-resistance found an expression that at the very least stood in stark tension with Buddhist rhetoric of compassion, of applying "skillful means" to liberate *all* sentient beings:

> With what has modern Japanese Buddhism harmonized itself? With State Shinto. With state power and authority. With militarism. Accordingly, with war.
>
> Toward what has modern Japanese Buddhism been non-resistant? Toward State Shinto. Toward state power and authority. Toward militarism. Toward wars of invasion.
>
> Of what has modern Japanese Buddhism been tolerant? Of those with whom it harmonizes. Of its own responsibility for the war.[84]

Of course, the advocacy of harmony, that is to say, the rejection of conflict, as conveyed by the expression "non-contention and harmony" (*fusō-wagō*), can easily shift from passive accommodation to active collaboration:

> Through the mediation of the logic of "break and subdue" (*shakubuku*), "destroying falsehood and revealing truth" (*haja kenshō*), "killing one to give life to many" (*issatsu tashō*), and "the sword that kills people is the sword that gives life" (*setsunintō-soku-katsuninken*[85]), the non-contentious receptive attitude in Buddhism ultimately gave birth to the path of morality and peace of mind in which for the sake of a "just war" one obliterates the "private" and serves the "public" (*messhi-hōkō*). It was from this angle that many people interpreted Dōgen's words, "to study the Buddha Way is to study the self and to study the self is to forget the self." The justice of the war, no-self, and peace of mind got fused here.[86]

Along these lines Ichikawa further points out that in the name of harmony, Zen Buddhists, including Nishida Kitarō, rejected social conflict, especially class struggle (with Nishida writing in an essay on *kokutai*, "Class conflict must be

dissolved"[87]), but affirmed conflict between nations, as seen in Nishida's New Year's lecture for the emperor in 1941, in which he argued, "For various groups of people to enter this one world means that they enter one and the same environment. Therefore, there necessarily arise mutual struggles and conflicts among the groups, and wars are inevitable. At the same time, through this process, the cultures of various ethnic groups are synthesized and united, and a greater development of human culture takes place."[88]

Against this backdrop, Ichikawa explores the connection between peace (*heiwa*) and harmony (*wagō*).[89] He claims that the logic of not-contention and harmony can function as the flip side of the logic of war. Indeed, it was in the name of peace and safety that Japan prepared for and waged war,[90] and modern Japanese Buddhism sang the praises of harmony while negating peace (at least in the short run), paralleling how *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai* and other ideological texts mobilized Japanese for military service by exalting harmony. As cited above, Shaku Sōen wrote, "Even though the Buddha forbade the taking of life, he also taught that until all sentient beings are united together through the exercise of infinite compassion, there will never be peace. Therefore, as a means of bringing into harmony those things which are incompatible, killing and war are necessary."[91] Zen master Yamamoto Genpō (1866–1961) wrote that "Buddhism, which has at its foundation the true perfection of humanity, has no choice but to cut down even good people in the event they seek to destroy social harmony."[92] Reflecting on statements such as these, Ichikawa argues that in certain hands "what the morality of harmony negates is conflict (including people speaking out), and what it affirms is exploitation and war. Contrariwise, the morality of peace negates war, and what it affirms is antiwar [activism], the people (*minshū*[93]), and fighting for independence. Just as it is not contradictory to speak in terms of fighting for peace, the morality of harmony and the 'morality' of war are not contradictory either. Simply put, just as the logic of harmony extends to the logic of war, the logic of peace cannot help but become a logic of struggle [to resist war]."[94]

Ichikawa further contends that in cultivating an elitist, aloof, and largely solitary path to non-contentious peace of mind, "Zen conflates the way a solitary renunciate maintains himself with the way to think about the life of the masses throughout society in general."[95] That is to say, Zen usually fails to recognize the difference between inner and outer laws (*rihō*), and consequently slips into taking such inner principles as "non-contention and harmony" (*fusō-wagō*) as blueprints for running the outer world.[96] Ichikawa grants that one can find apparent admonitions against this in such texts as the *Collected Verses of the Zen Sangha* (*Zenrin kushū*), which features the line, "Within the realm, the emperor's edicts; outside the fortifications, the general's orders,"[97] echoing the biblical injunction

to "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's [Matthew 22:21],"[98] but Zen has generally subordinated itself to the emperors and other Caesars of East Asia.

The Zen commitment to harmonious social order comes into bolder relief when we turn to *on*, the blessings one has received from others and the resultant indebtedness incurred because of those blessings.[99] Buddhist texts usually treat *on* in terms of four *on* (*shi'on*): blessings from and indebtedness to the ruler, one's parents, all sentient beings, and the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha).[100] Zen liturgical life instills and reinforces a sense of indebtedness and gratitude, whether to Bodhidharma,[101] the founder of the temple,[102] one's parents,[103] those whose labors produced the food that supports monastic practice,[104] the current emperor,[105] or a patron emperor.[106] In *Clear Sound of Jewels* (*Reirōshū*), Takuan (1573–1645) lifts up indebtedness to one's feudal lord (*daimyō*): "In regard to this, from the time a person has been taken into a lord's service, of the clothes on his back, the sword he wears at his side, his footgear, his palanquin, his horse and all of his materiel, there is no single item that is not due to the favor (*on*) of his lord."[107] Hakuin writes in *Orategama* that "to be an ordinary human living as a subject means that you eat the lord's food, wear clothes obtained from him, tie a sash he has given to you, and wear a sword obtained from him. You do not have to fetch water from a faraway place. The food you eat you do not grow yourself; the clothes you wear you do not weave for yourself. In fact, your whole body in all its parts is dependent on the blessings of your lord (*kun'on*)."[108] In *A Staff for the Blind*, Suzuki Shōsan writes, "Know well that it is to your lord's generosity that you owe your very life, and serve him by giving your body."[109]

Wartime Buddhist ideologues, as we saw in chapter one, deployed *on* as a bridge between traditional Buddhism and the modern imperial ideology, frequently underscoring indebtedness to the emperor and the need to repay that debt through military service. "With the philosophy of interrelational arising as its backdrop," Ichikawa comments, "the doctrine of debt occupied the central position in Buddhist ethics, and in the context of Japanese patriarchal theocracy, among the four types of debt, indebtedness to one's parents was subordinated to indebtedness to the emperor, and indebtedness to all sentient beings became less important."[110] Insofar as one is ensconced in the ethos of *on*, feeling gratitude for the blessings one receives from the emperor and striving to repay that debt preempts possible dissent and resistance.[111] In Buddhist terms, the reinforced sense that one carries a burden of debt for various blessings, ought to feel gratitude for those blessings, and, more importantly, ought to seek ways to repay that debt (*hō'on*) can compete with what may justifiably be seen as broader demands of compassion, as when the suffering of others could be reduced by criticizing those to whom one feels

indebted, whether a feudal lord, the emperor, a jingoistic Zen master during the Fifteen-Year War, or a sexually abusive teacher in a Zen center.

Adherence to the construct of debt may also contribute to active collaboration with the powers to which one feels indebted. Nishi Honganji writer Sasaki Kentoku offered ideological support for Japanese imperialism in his *Theory of the Oneness of Indebtedness* (*On ichigen ron*, 1942),[112] which, according to Ichikawa, "focused on the unitary dimension of indebtedness (*on*) to the imperial throne and the imperial country of Japan as the basis for cultivating the historical world, and emphasized that the practice of repaying debt to the divine country Japan was the guiding principle of the construction of a new order in East Asia."[113] Sōtō Zen leader Ōmori Zenkai argued in 1942, "The essence of an [imperial] subject is to be found in the basic principle of the Buddha Way, which is to forget the self. It is by giving concrete form to this essence in any and all situations, regardless of time or place, that Buddhism is, for the first time, able to repay the debt of gratitude it owes the state."[114]

The Zen rhetoric of harmony and indebtedness bears traces of Confucianism, arguably the main determinant of Zen social ethics.[115] Although Ichikawa does not elaborate on the role of Confucianism in shaping Zen ethics, in one of his lists of factors behind Imperial-Way Buddhism he does include the Confucian notion of "encouraging the good and chastising evil" (*kanzen chōaku*) in the Seventeen-Article Constitution and he identifies the Confucian "Way of loyalty" (*chūdō*) as a determinant of Imperial-Way Zen down through the centuries. We can add here that the explicit Zen-Confucian connection in Japan stretches back to the Five Mountain (*gozan*) monks of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, who introduced Song Neo-Confucianism, made their monasteries centers of Confucian learning, and disseminated Confucian thought through their writings and lectures to warrior rulers and emperors.[116] In the Tokugawa period, leading Zen masters conveyed Confucian values to the laity through popular talks (*kana hōgo*) and to political leaders through letters and treatises. Organizing *The Functioning of Virtue in Ten-Thousand Subjects* along the lines of the four-tiered Confucian social hierarchy, Suzuki Shōsan configured Confucian values into different sets of guidelines for warriors, farmers, craftspeople, and merchants (*shi-nō-kō-shō*). In *The Mysterious Record of Immovable Wisdom* (*Fudōchi shinmyō roku*) and *Clear Sound of Jewels*, Takuan championed core Confucian values of loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, and righteousness as part of his overall discourse on the unity of Confucianism and Buddhism (*Ju-Butsu itchi*). In the Meiji period, Imakita Kōsen (1816–1892) argued for such a unity in his *One Wave on the Zen Sea* (*Zenkai ichiran*).[117] And during World War II, as we have seen, Zen figures applauded and helped disseminate the largely Confucian imperial ideology.

Zen and other forms of Buddhism have also participated actively in the conventional morality associated with ancestor veneration (*senzo sūhai*), especially as pursued through Buddhist funerals, memorial rites, and daily observances at family altars (*butsudan*) in the home. With this orientation, Buddhism actively supported the holy-war morality of Japan as a "great family" (*daikazoku*) guided by the imperial patriarch, as the descendant of divine ancestors, in pursuing the mission of bringing "the whole world under one roof" (*hakkō ichi'u*).[118]

Ichikawa further argues that in the Japanese cultural milieu, Buddhist emphasis on the spirit of "the aged" (*rō*[119]) and the value of tranquility (*jakumetsu*) helped shape the aesthetic constructs of *yūgen*, *wabi*, and *sabi*. Though shrouded in ideological claims about Japanese culture and notoriously difficult to translate into English, *yūgen* can be rendered as "dark profundity," *wabi* as "rustic simplicity," and *sabi* as "weathered solitude," with each of these values connoting tranquility.[120] This Buddhist aesthetic privileges that which is older and subdued, and it contributes to the view that wise elders are desireless, accommodating, and nonconfrontational. (Punning, Ichikawa notes how in Japan to be quiet [*oto nashi*] is to be mature [*otona rashi*] and from this perspective some Japanese will say things like "socialists—grow up!"[121]) This constellation of cultural values thus contributed to the Japanese tendency to accept rather than criticize actuality.[122]

One reason Zen has historically ignored the full gamut of attachments in society, slipped into universal pronouncements about human nature, and functioned in a symbiotic relationship with those in power is the tradition's lack of any systematic philosophy of history. This absence, however, did not render Zen thinkers unable and unwilling to take part in twentieth-century discourse on "transcending history," "overcoming the modern," and "creating history supra-historically." Reflecting on Linji's notion of "making oneself master of every situation," Ichikawa asks, "in the situation of the 'holy war,' in what way did Buddhists establish distinctions between transcending history, fleeing from history, submerging themselves in history, and changing history?"[123] During the war they made no such distinctions, and in retrospect some apologists have argued that Zen leaders simply got swept up in Japanese nationalism. But this answer does not suffice.

> If Zen figures say they got caught up in things and believed it was a "holy war," then they have to be ashamed of their ignorance of historical actuality. During the war many people in the same confined circumstances saw it accurately as a war of imperialism. If Zen figures had possessed any scientific discernment of modern history and the actual state of world history, they would not have come up with the fallacious notion that it was a holy war.[124]

Ichikawa adds that, historically, "Zen figures dwelled in the true insight of *satori*, and the activity of discriminating discernment, seen in the statement that 'the willows are green and the flowers red,' became habitualized and got stuck in the parameters of a contemplative life and hence failed to get concretized in an accurate handle on historical actuality."[125]

Ichikawa does not limit his critique to Zen views of history. In a binary both similar to and subversive of those constructed by *Nihonjin-ron*[126] writers, Ichikawa portrays the West and Asia as diverging in their views of matter and history. He construes Westerners like Francis Bacon as investigating the laws of nature in order to subjugate nature, in contrast with Asians like Zhuangzi, who "disported" themselves in nature (*shizen no ikki ni asobu*). The respective "natures" here are the nature studied by natural science and what Ichikawa terms an intuitive, transexperiential nature (*chōkeiken-teki shizen*). "In the case of the former, one attempts to study and control material things in nature, while in the latter, one grows weary of and separates from if not transcends those things."[127]

Ichikawa continues his comparison by noting that although philosophers "West" and "East" all begin with the problem of existence and explore the dialectic between being (*u*) and non-being (or nothingness, *mu*), Western philosophers focus on being and development (*hatten*) while Asian thinkers focus on nothingness and "tranquility and annihilation" (*jakumetsu*, nirvana); Western philosophers generate categories for knowledge of things around them while Asian thinkers concern themselves with knowledge of values; Westerners construe cause-and-effect natural-scientifically while Asians construe it morally and religiously. As a result, in Asia, specific things, or matter in general, are seen as temporary or provisional, as something one should disdain.[128]

Ichikawa also claims that the West's emphasis on development, as seen in Darwin's theory of evolution and Bergson's *élan vital*, contrasts with Asian advocacy of returning to the ontological source of things and restoring the past, evident in the verses on the "Ten Ox-Herding Pictures" and the concept of the "restoration of kingly rule" (*ōsei fukko*).

> For this reason, the goal of political revolutions [in China] has been the return to the ancient rule of Yao and Shun, and religious revolutions have taken as their goal the return to the ancient time of the founder of the religion or sect. It is only natural that the concept of "history" did not get advanced in the East, for the essence of the concept of history is "development." Theories of materialism and the discipline of history, not to mention materialist views of history, thus seem quite foreign to people in Asia. This is where the problem lies. The spiritualism of ancient Asia is admittedly profound and beautiful. But the disparaging outlook

> on "matter" has, contrary to what one might expect, usually resulted in minds stumbling because of matter. It has generated crude worldviews and dwelled conceptually on the means people use in praxis. In this day and age, with the materialist structures of history becoming increasingly complex and contradictory, we must reflect on these facts.[129]

Particularly in Zen, a tradition centered on immediate experience—whether drinking tea or eating a bowl of rice—historical discernment garners little attention. This causes problems, especially in modernity. As Ichikawa wrote during the Cold War, "The movements that shaped modernity have seeped into all of us. Though a Zen person may speak of 'drinking tea when one encounters tea and eating rice when one encounters rice,' what we encounter is not rice or tea but war, peace, Americanism, Sovietism."[130] He adds that if our domain is simply the world of drinking tea and eating rice, there is no historicity to our life.[131] He also prods his readers to be aware that "even everyday matters like tea and rice are connected to ideology."[132] To his credit, Ichikawa does acknowledge that Buddhism levels fundamental criticisms of human history, and he appraises this criticism as correct: "The rifts, conflict, and anguish of the world—all social and political evils—derive from self-centered discriminating consciousness and self-contradictions of competitive volition."[133] But, he continues, "this criticism of history harbors the risk of converting into a lax, self-complacent, lofty sightseeing that lacks the kind of perspective that provides a basis for relative criticism."[134]

Ichikawa also recognizes the religious significance of "transcending history," though he reminds his readers that this transcendence can take two forms: "The first is to transcend history 'within consciousness,' that is to say, while floating around in the sea of history. The second way is to carry out precise, realistic (*genjitsu-teki*) criticism of the movements of history, which center around political power."[135] Traditionally Zen has engaged in the former, not the latter. Granted,

> history is not merely negated in Asian religious traditions, for in the mode of "absolute negation is none other than absolute affirmation," history as the absolute present is created. But this [Zen] history consists of the historical actions and historical world of individual Zen subjectivities, and the world-historical actuality of humankind looms as a gigantic reality *crowded out* of this [Zen] history as the absolute present. A Zen Buddhist's negation of history barely touches on this actuality. No matter how much a Zen figure in his pure chambers negates history fundamentally and totally, the world of historical actuality outside the gate is not budged one iota.[136]

That is to say, "even if it is not speculative or conceptual, 'negation is none other than affirmation' is merely an event for that person, not an event that is comprised of, or links with, actions by the masses. No matter what might be said about history dropping off mind and body, it is nothing other than the dropping off of the mind and body of one Zen figure."[137] And "when the negation of history dominates all of one's thought and action, it generates a solitarily aloof view (*kokōteki takkan*) of historical actuality."[138]

To rectify this limitation and the concomitant resistance to social activism, Ichikawa looks to modern "intellectuality" (*chisei*), which can "give a correct direction and effectiveness to its 'pure and simple' (*jun'itsu*) praxis."[139] Ichikawa further comments, "The paucity of Zen [social] praxis derives mainly from Zen's failure to assimilate historical intellectuality into its non-discrimination (*mufunbetsu*) and its failure to forge itself through the historical conscience and energy (*énergie*) prevalent from the Renaissance up through the formulation of social-scientific humanism."[140] Without integrating critical thought and conscience, Zen figures will continue getting stuck in an ahistorical, lofty viewpoint. For this reason, reflecting on D. T. Suzuki's 1946 work *The Construction of a Spiritual Japan* (*Reiseiteki Nihon no kensetsu*) and Hisamatsu Shin'ichi's postwar notion of creating history supra-historically, Ichikawa admonishes his fellow Zen Buddhists in Japan:

> *The recovery of the health of Buddhist ethics would have been impossible without the recovery of the health of politics*. Sound historicization of that which is supra-historical first became possible only after the democratization of historical actuality. *In no way was it the case that the supra-historical Dharma appeared and then led history*. We Buddhists must *now sit up straight anew*, discard the vain thought that some supra-historical entity led history, and (as Linji says) "verify right at our feet" the fact that the transhistorical was saved by history.[141]

We might also argue here that grandiose rhetoric about the transhistorical dimension of the Dharma has served to obfuscate the historical record and precluded close analysis of the Dharma *in* history, of the ways in which the Dharma, the "Buddha's Law," has gotten entangled—or, in the language of the fox koan, obscured and confused—in sociopolitical structures and processes, in the "Sovereign's Law." As I will argue in the next chapter, it was the Dharma *in* history, in the form of Buddhist institutions and historically conditioned leaders, that played the largest role in causing the phenomenon *in* history called "Imperial-Way Zen."

CHAPTER FOUR

Modern Buddhism for the Protection of the Realm

In his arguments about the causes of Imperial-Way Zen, Ichikawa focuses on Zen's epistemology, metaphysics, and views of society and history. He situates the first of these foci at the center of his critique, writing at length about the ethical pitfalls of Zen "peace of mind." While critical of the political stances D. T. Suzuki took from the Meiji period onward, Ichikawa appropriated Suzuki's privileging of Zen experience insofar as he construed Zen practice as cultivating an unmediated, direct oneness with things,[1] which Suzuki termed "prajna-intuition" and Ichikawa described as "becoming one with things" (*narikiru*). In the twenty years since Ichikawa's death, however, many scholars have come to challenge dominant representations of Zen experience, especially as advanced by Suzuki. Bernard Faure, Robert Sharf, and others have problematized such epistemological claims, arguing that the role of special "experience" has been less central to Zen than Suzuki and others have made it out to be, and that the construct of ineffable, pure, unmediated experience beyond the duality of subject and object is largely unintelligible.[2]

Even if we grant for the sake of the argument that prominent Zen figures have experienced things in the ways that Suzuki and Ichikawa claim, and that this epistemology has been grounded in a metaphysics and social theory that valorize actuality, we are still left with the question of the extent to which these factors caused "Imperial-Way Zen." Though they may help explain why this or that Zen leader *passively accommodated* Japanese imperialism, they do not fully account for why they *actively collaborated* with it. To answer this question we must turn to historical analysis. To his credit, in *Buddhists' Responsibility for the War*, Ichikawa lifts up the traditional relationship between Buddhism and the state as the first of twelve factors that have contributed to the conservative stances of Zen and other

forms of Japanese Buddhism. In general, however, historical analysis takes a back seat to his central focus on Zen "peace of mind."

Brian Victoria, a scholar heavily influenced by Ichikawa, directs a good part of his critique at historical patterns. In *Zen at War*, *Zen War Stories*, and several articles, Victoria analyzes an array of talks, writings, and activities of prominent Buddhist figures from the Meiji Restoration through the first part of the Shōwa period. Focused on laying bare the political stances of Zen leaders, he spends little time offering causal explanations of the ideology and actions he so thoroughly maps. In passing, however, he does ascribe Zen collaboration with Japanese imperialism to the connection Zen has maintained with the samurai and their warrior ethos, *bushidō*, as encapsulated in the expression *kenzen-ichinyo*, the "unity of Zen and the sword." He construes this connection, especially as interpreted by prewar and wartime Zen Buddhists, as "the key to understanding the eventual emergence of 'imperial-state Zen' (*kōkoku Zen*)."[3] To support this argument he quotes a plethora of statements by Zen masters about *bushidō* and its core constructs—loyalty, courage, self-sacrifice, moving forward without flinching once one's course has been set—and it is clear from his presentation that in maintaining close contact with prominent military officers, Zen leaders continued their traditional association with Japan's warriors.

It is not equally clear, however, that the primary cause of the nationalist bent of Zen leaders in the first half of the twentieth century was the ongoing Zen-*bushidō* connection. True, they cloaked their nationalism in the rhetoric of *kenzen-ichinyo*, but is the Zen connection to *bushidō* the reason they were so eagerly patriotic? One cannot help but wonder whether there might not have been other causes of nationalist Zen before and during the Fifteen-Year War. Interestingly, Victoria himself points to other causal factors when he asks, "what did post-Meiji Zen adherents find in the relationship between Zen and Bushido that justified their own fervent support of Japan's war effort?"[4] With this wording he seems to construe the Zen-*bushidō* connection not so much as the *main cause* of Zen support for Japanese militarism and imperialism but as a construct readily available when Zen leaders sought an ex post facto *justification* for that support. His wording betrays his recognition that factors other than the historical Zen-*bushidō* connection—many of which he points out in the book—may have brought Zen to its imperialist stance and that when Zen figures wanted to justify their support for Japanese imperialism they deployed such rhetoric as *kenzen-ichinyo*.

Victoria also argues that the Zen-*bushidō* connection not only generated "Imperial-state Zen" but influenced the Japanese military. To support this claim he zeroes in on *Great Duty* (*Taigi*), a book by Lieutenant Colonel Sugimoto Gorō: "The writings of one military officer . . . clearly indicate the type of soldier this

[Zen] training produced and are a powerful testimonial to the influence that Bushido, incorporating the unity of Zen and the sword, had on both imperial soldiers and the general public."[5] He later adds, "To the war's bitter end, the Way of the Warrior played an important role in all aspects of Japanese society."[6] And close to that end, according to Victoria, "The unity of Zen and the sword advocated by such Zen leaders as [Yamazaki] Ekijū and [D. T.] Suzuki had come to this: drafting young boys into special attack units to become the infamous *kamikaze* (divine wind) pilots headed on a one-way trip to oblivion."[7]

Once again we might ask whether there were factors other than Zen training that influenced Sugimoto. And even if it was Zen training that enabled Sugimoto to wage war without flinching and face death with selfless service to the emperor foremost in his mind, how typical was he? Did Zen training play much of a role in the willpower, martial effectiveness, and sacrificial death of other soldiers? Victoria at one point writes that after it was imported to Japan, "Zen rapidly found favor with the warrior class, many of whom schooled themselves in the tradition up to and including the emergence of Japan's modern imperial soldiers, especially its officer corps."[8] I wonder, however, what percentage of the samurai ostensibly steeped in Zen had actually done *zazen* (seated meditation), met with Zen masters, and thereby cultivated the mental states—including mirror-like awareness and tranquility in the face of death—that modern Zen ideologues have claimed are the fruits of Zen practice. Granted, warrior rulers built monasteries for renowned priests, asked Zen priests to perform rituals for such practical benefits as the protection of the realm and its rulers (themselves), utilized Zen institutions for social control and trade with China, and attempted to secure cultural credentials relative to aristocrats and the court in Kyoto by patronizing the Song ink painting and other arts that were introduced by expatriate Chinese Zen masters. But to what extent did those elite warriors engage in sustained Zen practice? And what about the mass of ordinary, lower-level samurai who did not meet with Zen abbots for tea, art appreciation, and political discussions? What evidence do we have that they ever practiced Zen? And even if they did, to what extent did they advance their meditative practice to the states of "no-mind" that D. T. Suzuki has portrayed as central to warriors' Zen awareness?

Reflecting on the case of Lieutenant Colonel Sugimoto, Victoria further argues, "The belief that the power resulting from Zen training could be converted into military power was to become an ever more important part of the Zen contribution to Japan's war effort."[9] But how might one prove that the *belief* in some special power cultivated by Zen practice became an "ever more important part of the Zen contribution to the war effort"? That is to say, how much influence did that belief really have on military figures and the war? And going beyond mere

belief, how many soldiers actually practiced Zen, gained special power from that practice, and converted it into some sort of military power?

The challenge Victoria faces here, as with the issue of the exact role of *bushidō* in motivating actions by Zen figures and shaping others, is that of empirical evidence. He acknowledges this difficulty: "Leading Zen figures made unsurpassed efforts to foster loyalty to the emperor and make spiritually strong soldiers. Did anyone notice? That is to say, was the imperial military actually influenced by their words and actions?"[10] He continues, "A quantitative answer to this question, it must be admitted, is almost certainly beyond the realm of historical research."[11]

In terms of kamikaze pilots, although Victoria ascribes to the Zen-*bushidō* connection a causal role ("come to this") in the creation of what the Japanese military referred to as "special attack units" (*tokkōtai*), one can reasonably wonder whether the Zen-sword link really played *any* causal role, much less a significant one, in the formation of those units. Pointing out that Zen figures like Yamazaki Ekijū and D. T. Suzuki joined the rhetorical game of extolling the virtue of self-sacrifice unto death and other apparently Zen facets of *bushidō* is one thing, but to construe their discourse on Zen and the sword as playing a significant causal role in desperate tactical decisions made by military brass on the verge of defeat is an entirely different matter.

In his discussion of Zen, *bushidō*, and the Fifteen-Year War, Victoria also focuses on the Zen view of life and death. He claims that the Zen approach to life and death lies behind "the authentic samurai ethic"[12] and that throughout the war "the Zen identification of life and death found expression at the highest levels of the Japanese military."[13] Victoria seems to be on solid ground insofar as one can indeed argue that Zen approaches to living and dying colored the *bushidō* rhetoric in the early Shōwa. But when we assess war responsibility, how significant a factor was this rhetoric? Most likely, it offered a palliative to some soldiers facing death, but it seems a stretch to argue that it instigated decisions that sent them to their death in the first place.

Perhaps the question of Zen responsibility for how its doctrine of "overcoming life and death" helped soldiers fight and kill fearlessly is moot, for one could argue that Zen did not play much of a role in helping Japanese warriors—whether samurai or modern conscripts—accept death. Pure Land Buddhism, with its promise of rebirth in a paradise, historically functioned at least as much as Zen did to assuage fears of dying in combat, and one does not have to look far in Japanese historical sources to find references to badly wounded samurai chanting "Namu Amida Butsu" as opposed to focusing on becoming one with their gradual dying on the battlefield.[14] Victoria himself notes, "Zen influenced warriors were promised that by undergoing spartan, demanding, and highly regimented Zen practice, most

especially the meditative practice of *zazen*, they would acquire a form of spiritual power that would directly enhance their martial prowess on the battlefield. Pure Land leaders, on the other hand, did not promise to make them better fighters, but they did offer 'peace of mind' based on guaranteed entrance into paradise after death. The common factor in both schools was their provision of a method for 'transcending life and death.'"[15] And about the Russo-Japanese War, Victoria writes, "Many officers in the field were impressed by the Buddhist faith of Japan's ordinary soldiers, especially adherents of the Shin (True Pure Land) sect. Though lying mortally wounded on the battlefield, these soldiers did not cry out for help but died silently, without complaint."[16] This, too, prompts the question of the degree to which the Zen impact on Japan's military ever trickled down below certain elites.

In constructing his argument about the impact *bushidō* and Zen discourse on overcoming life and death had on the military, Victoria seems to buy into the notion that rank-and-file Japanese soldiers had little fear of death. He quotes a line by Thomas Allen and Norman Polmar, "A dark, *unfathomable acceptance of death* drove the Japanese fighting men"[17] [Victoria's emphasis], and a claim by Meirion and Susie Harries about how the legacy of "the authentic samurai ethic" is evident in "the Japanese soldier['s] . . . willingness to die."[18] Citing these representations approvingly, Victoria seems to accept the view that Japanese soldiers, monolithically (*the* Japanese soldier), had not only accepted death but were willing to die.[19] And he further claims that Japanese soldiers were not only willing to die but willing and eager to kill. In one essay he writes that "the modern Japanese soldier was as murderously cruel and inhumane as his samurai predecessors. In fact, he was more so given the added lethality of modern weaponry backed by national chauvinism, feelings of racial superiority and religious fanaticism."[20]

These representations not only disindividualize Japanese soldiers but play into stereotypes of them as irrational fanatics and subhuman fighting machines. Such portrayals also obscure the fact that many of the Japanese soldiers had been conscripted, abused by their own officers, and, as many personal anecdotes have indicated, were genuinely afraid of death and in many cases refused to surrender not because they had little fear of death but because they feared their own officers—who arguably could be expected to shoot anyone who would try to surrender—and feared shaming their families back home. Victoria himself writes, "In the postwar era, a number of former imperial soldiers, especially in the lower ranks, have come forward to reveal that they never 'joyfully' embraced death in the first place. Instead, they were coerced, often brutally so, into accepting death by their military superiors."[21]

Recognition of the bind in which Japanese soldiers found themselves makes one wonder about analogous binds on Zen leaders during the war. Victoria argues

that "Japan's wartime Zen leaders revealed themselves to be *thoroughly and completely morally bankrupt*"[22] and, in taking the initiative to pitch Zen notions of no-self and the unity of life and death to military offices and the laity, "did everything they could to ensure a suicidal response on the part of both the military and most especially the civilian population."[23] Victoria barely mentions, however, the pressures that the government was exerting on religious organizations (and the Japanese in general) from the late 1920s, the impact the imperial education system presumably had on Zen leaders in their formative years, and the issue of the degree to which Zen leaders had accurate information about Japanese military actions overseas (even allowing for some firsthand knowledge gained by Zen missionaries and military chaplains).

A related question is that of whether Zen masters supported the Japanese military on their own initiative or primarily in response to the officers who had come to them for guidance. Victoria generally argues for the former, yet in *Zen War Stories*, after sketching how the military drew on the model of Zen monasteries when establishing regulations about food rations and eating utensils, Victoria himself writes, "Those wishing to defend Zen from the charge of collaboration with the modern Japanese military from an early date might well say of the preceding episode that the responsibility for the influence of Zen monastic life on the military cannot fairly be apportioned to Zen leaders themselves. After all, it was Japanese military leaders who came seeking 'inspiration' from Zen, not the other way around."[24] Indeed, and this fact, too, has a bearing on how one should assess Zen's war responsibility.

To his credit, Victoria has been reframing his arguments over the past few years. Although in a paper he presented in a session of the Zen Seminar at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion in November 2004 he cited, as applicable to Zen, a line from Martin Marty about how religions "motivate people to kill,"[25] in response to questions I posed during the discussion period he stated that he viewed Zen not as a cause of violence, not as something that functioned during the war to "motivate people to kill," but rather as an "enabling factor." And in a 2004 essay he similarly nuanced his earlier arguments, writing that he has "attempted to establish that at a minimum religion has repeatedly played the role of 'force multiplier' in twentieth-century wars fought throughout Asia by enhancing commitment and self-sacrifice on the part of combatants."[26]

Like Ichikawa before him, Victoria is critical of D. T. Suzuki's political stances from the late Meiji up through the war, yet just as Ichikawa accepted Suzuki's portrayal of Zen epistemology, Victoria seems to accept Suzuki's portrayal of Zen's influence on the samurai and its contribution to *bushidō*. But even if we allow for the possibility that *bushidō* did in fact exert a large influence on military figures like

Lieutenant Colonel Sugimoto, that does not necessarily indicate a major *Zen* influence, despite what Suzuki claimed, for *bushidō* exhibits an overwhelmingly Confucian character, something that gets lost in Victoria's writings, where he devotes most of his ink to the Buddhist facets of *bushidō*. Contra Suzuki and Victoria, I would argue that the Zen-samurai connection had more to do with institutional symbiosis than with any Zen input to *bushidō*, any acquisition of special power through Zen practice, or any linkage between the Zen mindset and the way one wields a sword.

That being said, Victoria does deserve recognition for shedding light on the ideology and actions of wartime Zen leaders and thereby stimulating much-needed discussion in and out of Japan about Buddhist culpability during the Fifteen-Year War. His publications, as we will see, have prompted Japanese Rinzai Zen leaders to start publicly reflecting on and apologizing for Zen's role in Japanese imperialism.

In response to Ichikawa and Victoria's explanations of Imperial-Way Zen, I would argue that instead of pitfalls in Zen's peace of mind or Zen's connection to the samurai, a better direction to seek the *causes* of Imperial-Way Zen is institutional history. To his credit, Victoria notes, "The emergence of imperial-way Buddhism (*kōdō Bukkyō*) in the 1930s was not so much a new phenomenon as it was the systematization or codification of previous positions. Stated in Buddhist terms, imperial-way Buddhism represented the total and unequivocal subjugation of the Law of the Buddha to the Law of the Sovereign. In political terms, it meant subjugation of institutional Buddhism to the state and its policies."[27] Victoria also mentions "the overall relationship between institutional Buddhism and the Japanese state"[28] and the phenomenon of "nation-protecting Buddhism" (*gokoku Bukkyō*) as one part of "the question of the doctrinal and historical relationship between Buddhism and the state."[29] These comments are subordinated, however, to his main argument: that Imperial-Way Zen derives primarily from the traditional connection Zen had maintained with samurai and their Way (*bushidō*). Ichikawa, too, was well aware of Zen's institutional history, but, like Victoria, he directed most of his critique elsewhere, choosing to focus primarily on Zen epistemology.

One can best construe modern Zen support for Japanese imperialism as a continuation of the traditional symbiotic relationship between Buddhism and Japanese rulers. From the introduction of Buddhism to Japan in the mid-sixth century, the tradition has had friends in high places. The first patrons, the Soga family, looked to secure this-worldly benefits (*genze-riyaku*) from this complex continental religion with its myriad transcendent beings open to solicitation. In the centuries that followed, rulers patronized Buddhists by providing resources—land, building materials, corvée, and rice (as de facto currency)—and protecting

their favored Buddhist institutions from adversaries, which at times were other Buddhist sects. Patronized Buddhists reciprocated *ritually* by offering prayers, chanting sutras, and performing ceremonies deemed protective of the ruler and his realm; *institutionally* by playing administrative and educational roles for the government; and *doctrinally* by giving political readings to such concepts as the need to repay debt incurred because of past blessings (*on*) received from rulers.

This quid pro quo relationship found doctrinal expression and support in several formulas about *ōbō*, the "sovereign's law," and *buppō*, "Buddha's law" or Dharma: "the unity of the sovereign's law and Buddha's law" (*ōbō buppō ichinyo*), "the interdependence of the sovereign's law and Buddha's law" (*ōbō buppō sōi*), and "the sovereign's law is none other than Buddha's law" (*ōbō-soku-buppō*). From the end of the Heian period (794–1185), as Kuroda Toshio explains,

> the *ōbō* [sovereign's law] actually referred to the system of power represented by the nation's sovereign (the emperor) as well as the various secular parties of influence and to their unified governance, while the *buppō* denoted nothing less than the major temple-shrine complexes as a social and political force, as well as their activities. In short, *ōbō-buppō* mutual dependence not only meant that Buddhism served political power but also implied a peculiar adhesion of government and religion in which Buddhism, while constituting a distinctive form of social and political force, entered into the structural principle of the state order as a whole.[30]

Over the centuries Buddhist writers have metaphorically characterized the "sovereign's law" and "Buddha's law" as the two wings of a bird, the two horns of an ox, and the two wheels on an axle.

In its symbiosis with rulers, Japanese Buddhism has from the outset played the role of "Buddhism for the protection of the realm" (*gokoku Bukkyō*), functioning to "pacify and protect the nation" (*chingo-kokka*). Ichikawa interprets the "nation" (*kokka*)[31] here as the ruler, the imperial court (*ōshitsu*), the land, and the people.[32] One of those rulers, Shōmu, went to great lengths during the Nara period (710–794) to cultivate this character of Japanese Buddhism. With an edict in 741 he ordered the construction of more than sixty temples for monks and nuns (*kokubun sōji* and *kokunbun niji*) in outlying regions. "The monks and nuns of the provincial temples," as Helen Hardacre explains, "were charged to study Buddhist teachings, copy scriptures, and perform rites on a set schedule. Many of these rites—praying for rain or apologizing for errors by the emperor that might be responsible for crop failures, eclipses, and natural disasters—were supposed

to protect the state."[33] To provide a unifying center for this system of regional temples, Shōmu constructed Tōdaiji in Nara as the "temple of the four heavenly kings of golden light for the protection of the Yamato realm" (*Yamato no kuni no konkōmyō shitennō gokokuji*), with power radiating outward from this religiopolitical center. In a 743 proclamation, vowing to cast an immense bronze image of Vairocana Buddha (J. Birushana) and consecrate it inside the temple, Shōmu declared, "It is we who possess the wealth of the land; it is we who possess all power in the land. With this wealth and power at my command, we have resolved to create this venerable object of worship."[34]

A core religious practice in this system was the chanting of sutras deemed protective of the realm (*gokokkyō*), such as the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Sūtra of the Wisdom of the Benevolent Kings* (*Ninnō hannya gyō*),[35] and the *Sūtra of the Sovereign Kings of the Golden Light* (*Konkōmyō saishō-ō gyō*). Early Japanese Buddhism, equipped with these sutras, was, according to Imanari Jikō, "centered on the imperial household and functioned as a 'prayer Buddhism' (*kitō Bukkyō*) directed at the protection of the country and prosperity of the people."[36]

This pattern continued in the Heian period (794–1185). Although he moved the government out of Nara to escape the growing Buddhist influence on the court, especially as exerted by the powerful cleric Dōkyō, Emperor Kanmu drew on Buddhism to protect his new capital in Heian (present-day Kyoto) by ordering the construction of a temple complex, Enryakuji, on Mt. Hiei in the inauspicious northeastern direction, the *kimon* or demon's gate. Saichō (767–822) founded Japanese Tendai (Ch. Tiantai) Buddhism at Enryakuji and referred to this head temple as the "place for [practicing] the Way and [thereby] pacifying and protecting the nation" (*chingo kokka no dōjō*).[37] Kūkai (774–835), the founder of Japanese Shingon (Ch. Zhenyan) Buddhism, referred to his head temple Tōji down in Heian as the "temple for teaching the sovereign and protecting the realm" (*kyōō-gokokuji*). These renowned Buddhists advocated Tendai and Shingon rituals for the protection of the state, and their political stance finds expression in such texts as Saichō's *Essays on the Defense of the Realm* (*Shugo kokkai shō*) and the Tendai treatise *Ten Esoteric Methods for Protecting the Nation* (*Chingo-kokka no jikko-hihō*), whose "secret methods" focus primarily on the emperor.[38] At this time retired Heian emperors took the tonsure and with it the honorific title "Dharma King" (*hōō*), which had been appropriated earlier by Shōtoku Taishi in the seventh century and Dōkyō in the eighth.

In the Kamakura period (1185–1333), Zen thinkers further valorized "Buddhism for the protection of the realm." Eisai (1141–1215), the founder of Japanese Rinzai Zen, titled his most important work *Treatise on the Propagation of Zen for the Protection of the Realm* (*Kōzen gokoku ron*),[39] while also writing *A Vow*

to Revive the Dharma of Japan (*Buppō chūkō gammon*), in which he wrote, "The sovereign's law is the lord of Buddha's law, and the Buddha's law is the treasure of the sovereign's law."[40] In the Muromachi period (1333–1568) the "Five Mountain" system of Rinzai Zen monasteries flourished under the auspices of the Ashikaga military dictators, who used existing Zen temples in Kyoto as well as regional "temples for peace in the realm" (*ankokuji*) and "pagodas of the Buddha's favor" (*rishōtō*) to promote, according to Martin Collcutt, "their assertion of control over Kyoto [and] . . . pacification of the rest of the country."[41]

Zen's close connection to those in power, Ichikawa argues, "provides sufficient grounds for inquiring into the sort of social class in which Zen freedom operated."[42] Few Buddhists have problematized the class dimension of this "freedom"—through which Zen leaders become institutionally attached to patrons and their patronage—more thoroughly than Ichikawa. At one point he writes, "As evidenced by the history of Buddhist doctrines and institutions, 'Buddhism for the protection of the realm' failed to discern adequately that the ruling classes with their wealth and power and the masses below them without wealth or power did not share the same interests. In aristocratic Buddhism (*kizoku Bukkyō*), Buddhism with estates (*sōen Bukkyō*), and Buddhism for memorial services (*hōji Bukkyō*), one could hardly expect to find such discernment."[43] He adds, "It is not at all strange that Buddhists who had directly received the blessings (*on*) of rulers, and who took as their perspective the wisdom (*prajñā*) that transcends the ethics of ruler and ruled, dominant and subordinate, and operates from the broad perspective of all humanity and all of the Dharma worlds (*hokkai*), had no standpoint from which they could have criticized fundamentally either the sovereign's law or, of course, the Buddha's law."[44]

While not as cozy with the state as Rinzai Zen clerics were, other Japanese Buddhists of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods tried to align their forms of Buddhism with those in power. Nichiren (1222–1282), for example, took as one of his ideals "establishing the correct [Dharma, and thereby] securing peace in the realm" (*risshō ankoku*). With his exclusive focus on the *nenbutsu*,[45] Pure Land Buddhist Hōnen was seen by some elites as disrupting the earlier relationship between secular power (*ōbō*) and Buddhism (*buppō*), and, as we saw in chapter one, his follower Shinran, founder of Shin Buddhism, proclaimed in his *Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Realization* [*of the Pure Land Way*] (*Kyōgyōshinshō*), "The emperor [retired emperor Go-Toba] and his ministers, acting against the Dharma and violating human rectitude, became enraged and embittered"[46] after receiving a petition from monks,[47] but even Shinran followed the typical pattern and linked his Dharma to "protecting the realm." Kuroda Toshio writes, "Although the concept of *ōbō* leaned toward a view centered around the ruling order of those in power,

insofar as its meaning could encompass the land and its people it was almost inevitable in the medieval context that desires for 'peace of the world and the spread of the Buddha-dharma' would find expression, as in Shinran's case, in the form of 'saying the *nenbutsu* for the sake of the imperial house and for the sake of the people of the realm.'"[48] And by the fifteenth century, Shin Buddhist leader Rennyo was advocating "taking the sovereign's law as fundamental" (*ōbō ihon*).

In the Tokugawa period (1600–1867) virtually all Buddhist institutions applauded the policy of banning Christianity, and by functioning as de facto local government offices—recording births and deaths, registering marriages, and running schools in temples (*tera-koya*)—they supported the efforts of the Tokugawa shogunate to maintain control over disparate feudal domains. "In the early modern period," Kuroda writes, "with the emergence of a unified governing authority and the establishment of the *bakuhan* (shogunate-domain) system, apart from a few minor exceptions, the *buppō* was in its entirety subjugated to the *ōbō*."[49] In the Meiji period, as we have seen, to ward off attacks, Zen and other Buddhists strived to portray themselves as thoroughly Japanese and useful in the construction of a modern nation-state, and as part of this self-portrayal they attacked Christianity and Marxism while working to promote Japanese imperialism.

Simply put, as we have seen in this brief overview, since Buddhism first arrived in Japan as a gift from a Korean king in the sixth century, Japanese Buddhist leaders and institutions have, as a rule, functioned in a symbiotic relationship with other individuals and institutions exercising political power, whether it was the Soga family, Shōtoku Taishi, Shōmu and other Nara emperors, Emperor Kanmu and the court in the Heian period, Hōjō regents governing from Kamakura, the Ashikaga family during the Muromachi period, Tokugawa shoguns, Meiji oligarchs, or government officials and military officers in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods. With few exceptions, Buddhism and rulers have cultivated a mutually beneficial and mutually legitimating relationship, especially in the case of Zen. Toyoda Dokutan, the head of the Myōshinji branch of Rinzai Zen, proclaimed in the middle of the Fifteen-Year War, "The essence of the Rinzai sect since its founding in this country has been to protect the nation through the propagation of Zen. It is for this reason that in front of the central image in our sect's temples we have reverently placed a memorial tablet inscribed with the words, 'May the current emperor live for ten thousand years,' thereby making our temples training centers for pacifying and preserving our country."[50] From Ichikawa's critical perspective, Zen "ossified into a religion of ancestor worship, and in this way became mixed with Shinto and turned partly into a national teaching. This led to the intolerance and hostility toward Christianity, with its modern and transnational character."[51] And as indicated in "nation protecting" sutras that speak of Buddhism

being taught and entrusted to such lay patrons[52] as government officials, the usual façade has been that Buddhists, in possession of the correct law (*shōbō*), preach to and guide the powerful, rectify politics and economics, and thereby protect and advance the well-being of the people, but Buddhism in general has failed to articulate rigorously the exact structure, content, and functioning of "the unity of the sovereign's law and the Buddha's law."[53] Ichikawa continues,

> The idea that the Dharma [*buppō*, Buddha's law] should be entrusted to the ruler, ministers, and powerful believers appears throughout sutras for protecting the realm and, more broadly, Buddhism for the protection of the realm. Entrusting the Dharma consisted of magico-religious methods of guaranteeing the peace of mind (*anjin*) of those in authority by offering prayers for maintaining the safety and happiness of the ruling classes and tranquility in the areas they ruled. This magico-religious Dharma of "wisdom for protecting the realm" (*gokoku-hannya*) has continued without interruption from ancient times, with the [*Perfection of*] *Wisdom Sūtras* being chanted during the Fifteen-Year War as prayers to bring about the defeat of enemy countries and after the war as prayers to protect and maintain the *kokutai*. This Buddhism of the wisdom for protecting the realm (*gokoku hannya*) got its start through external protection by the court and aristocrats and developed through patronage by the *bakufu*, warriors, and wealthy merchants. It is only natural that when this sort of Zen entered the Meiji period, it was active as the Zen of "rich country, strong military" (*fukoku-kyōhei*) for the sake of conglomerates (*zaibatsu*), bureaucrats, and military men. That is to say, the Zen of modern Japan was more a Zen that waged war than a Zen that got caught up in war. It is thus not unnatural for war booty to have been set up in the compounds of temples in the Zen sect,[54] "Zen for pacifying and protecting the nation" (*chingo-kokka no Zen*).[55]

And insofar as liberation was understood as an individual not communal matter, over time, with its lofty character, Zen drifted further from the vow to save all sentient beings.[56]

From the 1868 Meiji Restoration until 1945, the symbiosis between Zen and the government took forms distinctive to modernity. Early on in this period Japanese leaders strived to unify the Japanese in the face of external threats and then, increasingly, directed their efforts toward mobilizing them for war. Simply put, they were cultivating nationalism. Of course, the concepts of state, nation, and nationalism are notoriously slippery. Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman write

that while "state" and "nation" are closely related, "One (the state) has to do with sovereignty, with power and authority over a given area and population; the other (the nation) has to do with relationships between people, with how people see themselves as connected over both time and space, as sharing some kind of collective identity. There are, too, both multinational states and stateless nations."[57] To Hugh Seton-Watson, "A state is a legal and political organisation with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens. A nation is a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness."[58] Or as journalist William Pfaff puts it, a nation can be construed as "a people united by a common dislike of its neighbors and a common mistake about its origins."[59]

For our purposes here, we can define "nationalism" as an ideology with accompanying practices, sites, and institutions that serve to unify and mobilize a group of people in a nation or a country.[60] "Ideology" in turn can be defined as a system of representations that serves the interests of a group.[61] The "sense of solidarity" fostered by nationalism derives largely from collective identity, grounded in perceived commonality, in a belief in shared characteristics as an ethnic group (a folk) if not a race,[62] or shared territory,[63] history,[64] language, customs, traditions, values, virtues, or personality traits. Stanley Tambiah argues that nationalism "substantializes and vocalizes one or more attributes—the usual ones being skin color, language, religion, territorial occupation—and attaches them to collectivities as their innate possession and their mythico-historic legacy. The central components in this description of identity are ideas of inheritance, ancestry, and descent, place or territory of origin, and the sharing or kinship."[65] Nationalist ideologies claim that through history, with all of its crises, the nation carries an unchanging essence, sometimes construed as a soul or spirit (*Geist*). As Ernest Renan has argued, "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle," and "moral conscience."[66] This "spiritual" dimension is manifested through traditions replete with symbols, rituals, and moral values.

It is important to note that the commonality in nationalism is often less an empirical fact than a conception if not a figment of a group's imagination. Echoing Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined community," Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman construe nationalism as "an ideology which imagines the community in a particular way (as national), asserts the primacy of this collective identity over others, and seeks political power in its name. . . . "[67]

Emerging in the nineteenth century and refined during the Second World War, nationalist discourse in Japan exhibited many of the key features of nationalism. Like other nationalisms, the Japanese version did not have any monolithic, unchanging character,[68] but we can highlight certain overarching themes.

Ideologues emphasized the unity and distinctiveness of the Japanese people. They made frequent claims about racial homogeneity and common ancestry, in some cases arguing for shared descent from cosmogonic deities like Amaterasu. They viewed the imperial family, with its unbroken lineage back to Amaterasu, as the central artery of blood shared down through history, with the commonality flowing outward through collateral lines,[69] which as a whole constitute a national body (*koku-tai*), an organic community that originated in the distant past and has continued down through history.

With this construct of an integrated, familial community, ideologues provided a conceptual response to the changes unfolding in Meiji Japan. "For an industrializing economy they reinvigorated an agrarian myth, and in an urbanizing society they apotheosized the village. In the face of gesellschaft, gemeinschaft was invoked; confronted with increasing individuation and even anomie, ideologues enshrined the family—the hyphenated metaphor of the family-state in effect sanctifying the family at least as much as it domesticated the state."[70] These sorts of ideological moves are not unique to the Japanese, for as Ernest Gellner has argued, "nationalism is a phenomenon of Gesellschaft using the idiom of Gemeinschaft: a mobile anonymous society simulating a closed cosy community."[71] Spencer and Wollman note that "[t]he invocation of this nostalgic idea can then draw attention away from division and conflict,"[72] which may occur along fault lines of class, gender, or religion.

Nationalism often revolves around territorial claims about a specific place, usually construed as *patria*, "land of our fathers," with patriots giving their lives in acts of primal territorialism, and this facet of nationalism has been exhibited in Japan as well. Ancient myths depict the Japanese archipelago as the first land mass created by Izanagi and Izanami, as the "land of vigorous rice plants" (*mizuho no kuni*). Cosmogonic priority is followed by political priority when the god Ninigi descends to the islands to lay the groundwork for his grandson Jinmu's rule as first emperor. During the war, Japanese ideologues held up this land as *shinkoku*, "realm of the gods" or "divine country."

The Japanese imperial ideology, like other nationalist discourses, made further claims about history. It was replete with references to a golden age, the mythic age of the gods (*kamiyo*). It called for a return to the past (*fukko*). It urged Japanese to engage in the renewal and restoration (*isshin*) of past practices (*kyūgi*), especially the "unity of rites and rule" (*saisei itchi*) that ostensibly characterized early Japan. Ironically, in the guise of rejecting Western views of the "abstract" individual as "ahistorical,"[73] ideologues were creating a pseudo-history, a historical fabrication based on mythological texts and other sources. They overlooked concrete historical particularity: historical and archeological data pointing to Korean origins of

the imperial family, historical materials indicating discontinuity in the imperial lineage, the worldliness of the imperial institution, conflict throughout Japanese history, and the historical process of inventing tradition in the nineteenth century. That is to say, in terms of their ideological binary, the West may be abstract, universal, ahistorical in its notions of the individual, but Japan is not necessarily more concretely historical, for the history its ideologues disseminated was an invented pseudo-history, a myth in both the technical and popular senses of the term.

This characteristic of Japanese nationalist ideology is not unique to Japan, for all official national histories reflect the contemporary perspectives and interests of their authors. As Claude Lévi-Strauss emphasized, all history is history *for*, not simply history *of*,[74] or as Hayden White wrote, "facts do not speak for themselves."[75] Once constructed, official histories are disseminated in the present through schools and other institutions to cultivate a shared, official memory. Of course, official memory is often selective memory or, better yet, selective amnesia, with facets of history that are potentially subversive of the dominant narrative getting downplayed, omitted, or denied.[76] In the words of Ernest Renan, "The essence of a nation is that its people have many things in common but have also forgotten many other things."[77] As a result, memory—whether official or minority—becomes contested, with inevitable battles over "correct" and "revisionist" histories, as seen in the 1940 controversy over professor Tsuda Sōkichi's demythologizing of Japanese mythology and questioning of the imperial family's divine roots, in recent conflicts in Japan about textbooks' representation of the war, and in U.S. debates about the 1995 Smithsonian exhibit on the Enola Gay, high school history standards, and the nature of the Vietnam War.

The histories backing nationalism, the "narratives of the nation," usually emphasize shared struggle, heroism, and sacrifice. Renan wrote, "A nation is a grand solidarity constituted by the sentiment of sacrifices which one has made and those that one is disposed to make again."[78] Max Weber has written that "the individual is expected ultimately to face death in the group interest. This gives to the political community its particular pathos and raises its enduring emotional foundations, [giving rise to] groups with joint memories which often have a deeper impact than the ties of merely cultural, linguistic or ethnic community. It is this community of memories which constitutes the ultimately decisive element of national consciousness."[79] The element of self-sacrifice appears repeatedly in the nationalist ideology accepted by Buddhist thinkers. During the early Shōwa, ideologues celebrated Kusunoki Masashige (d. 1336), the loyalist warrior leader who gave his life supporting Emperor Go-Daigo's bid for power in the Kenmu Restoration (1333–1336) and, as we have seen, they called on Japanese subjects of the emperor to "obliterate the self and serve the public" (*messhi-hōkō*).

Like other nationalists, ideologues in Japan also attributed to their fellows a set of shared common customs and traditions, a shared folkway. They portrayed the Japanese ethos as rooted in the purportedly communal agrarian life of ancient Japan, and as somehow still coursing though Japanese veins, even those of urban industrial workers. A host of ostensibly core Japanese values constituted this ethos, including loyalty, filial piety, dutifulness, diligence, perseverance, and feelings of indebtedness (*on*). This discourse contributed to claims about a primal Japanese "soul" (*Yamato damashii*) and a unique Japanese spirit (*Nihon seishin*).[80]

During the run-up to the war with China, Britain, and the United States, these dimensions of Japanese nationalist discourse—common blood, land, history, mores, language, values, and spirit—found thematic integration in the ideology about the emperor, the point around which Japanese could rally as an ostensibly unified and harmonious nation with shared cultural identity and values.

The imperial ideology, inclusive of Buddhist contributions to it, exhibited common characteristics of ideology. More often than not, ideologies hinder our ability to see reality clearly, for they function to distort or obscure certain things. They may portray certain values, practices, arrangements, and institutions—and perhaps even the ideology itself—as natural, in the sense of being rooted in nature and hence inevitable,[81] thereby legitimating them while also masking their artificial construction, their status as creations of deliberate human agency.[82] The representations that make up an ideology come to appear self-evident and commonsensical.[83] Further, ideologies make certain things out to be archaic.[84] They tend to reify certain things. They function to shape and control people; in particular, they unify people, offering a sense of identity in opposition to other groups or to conditions perceived negatively. And ideologies are never monolithic or unchanging. They are conveyed and continually reshaped by various practices, institutions, and media, all of which are inscribed by power relations.[85]

These features of ideology are evident in the Japanese nationalist discourse to which Buddhist leaders readily assented. The imperial ideology served to elide differences and mask tensions and conflicts by subsuming social contradictions in a purported harmony. When early Shōwa texts acknowledged conflict, they ascribed it to egoism from the West[86] that threatened a "natural" cultural tradition and gemeinschaft. This discourse served to obfuscate the strains, alienation, and conflict emerging from rapid industrialization and urbanization.

Ideological tracts in the early Shōwa also went to great lengths to represent social arrangements as natural, thereby obfuscating their recent construction. *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai* claimed that the relationship between the emperor and his subjects is "not an artificial relationship"; the state is a "nuclear existence that gives birth to individual beings"; "an individual is an existence

belonging to a State and her history which forms the basis of his origin, and is fundamentally one body with it"; the family is "based on natural sympathies"; and the intuitive and aesthetic qualities of the Japanese are "natural tendencies that arise through racial and historical differences."[87] By extension, the *kokutai* is no artificial, abstract, ahistorical construction. Rather, it is natural, concrete, and historical. It is organic, biological. It is the body (*tai*) of the nation (*koku*). "Japan's *kokutai*," claims Irokawa Daikichi, "is not based on the idea of a social contract but represents a natural bond between the emperor and the people."[88] Simply put, in the ideology of *kokutai*, morality is grounded in nature.[89]

The imperial ideology also represents certain institutions, practices, and values as archaic. The Imperial Rescript on Education, for example, lifts up the "Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth" and advocates a moral Way that was "bequeathed by Imperial Ancestors" (and "infallible for all ages and true in all places"). Of course, as we have noted, the "Way" was largely a modern construction set against the backdrop of an imagined history preserved in official memory. This feature is not unique to the imperial ideology of Japan. As Stuart Hall points out, the past of nationalist discourse is in part an invented past, and discourse about that past is usually woven around an invented tradition.[90] In the words of Eric Hobsbawm,

> "Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historical past.[91]

In the Meiji period the invented tradition centered on the modern imperial institution and State Shinto.[92] Up until then, "Shinto" consisted of an array of dispersed folk practices or, in the case of major shrines, was an extension of the medieval Buddhist system,[93] and the populace generally had no clear notion of or respect for the emperor or any imperial tradition.[94] Unlike much of the imperial institution and the overall ideology, however, the particular constructs in this ideology were not necessarily recent inventions. Many of the core values held sway in the previous Tokugawa period (1600–1867), for as Mikiso Hane writes, "Among the values and attitudes that the Tokugawa ruling class had instilled in the peasants were frugality, diligence, obedience, self-denial, patience, humility, social harmony, knowing one's place, deference to one's betters, unquestioning submission to authority, loyalty, and a keen sense of duty. These values entailed the acceptance

of the hierarchical order of things and the subordination of the individual to the group, whether it be the family, the hamlet, or the nation."[95]

Like other ideologies, the imperial ideology also exhibits reification, especially insofar as it represents the *kokutai* as the unchanging essence of Japanese culture. And this ideology shaped Japanese subjects, in large part through a set of descriptions that functioned as prescriptions, especially through their incorporation in the ethical cultivation (*shūshin*) carried out in schools. In particular, the imperial ideology instilled obedience and submission, even to the extreme of self-sacrificial death in battle. And like other species of nationalism and ideologies, Japanese nationalism was conveyed by various practices, institutions, and media. The central practices included school rituals, field trips to shrines, national rites, holidays, military service, and other forms of activity supportive of the national mission. In terms of institutions, we can identify a number of what Louis Althusser terms "ideological state apparatuses," such as government ministries, Buddhist sectarian organizations (*kyōdan*), the imperial school system, censored media, and patriotic groups. At the broadest level, the main institution that disseminated the imperial ideology was the state. Gellner emphasizes that the state plays a central role in the homogenization of culture, especially through the standardization of language and mass education. He writes,

> nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society; diffusion of a school-mediated, academy supervised idiom, codified for the requirements of reasonably precise bureaucratic and technological communication. It is the establishment of an anonymous, impersonal society, with mutually substitutable atomized individuals, held together above all by a shared culture of this kind, in place of a previous complex structure of local groups, sustained by folk cultures reproduced locally and idiosyncratically by the micro-groups themselves. That is what really happens.[96]

Though Gellner can be criticized for overstating the extent to which nationalism entails a top-down imposition, numerous scholars have taken a similar approach to Japanese nationalism. Sandra Wilson notes that "Japanese nationalism after 1868, in this rendition, is first and foremost an ideology, transmitted principally through compulsory education and conscription of adult males. . . . This version of Japanese nationalism is also a top-down creation centered on state and emperor and, increasingly, the military, with the addition of a few mad ultra-nationalists outside government."[97] Critical of that rendition, Wilson writes, "The 'nation' in our view, has been constructed by many hands, not necessarily under any guiding

plan or with a common intent or understanding."[98] As Carol Gluck has pointed out, the ideology from the late Meiji period had multiple sites of origin, and not just at the top of society. Nevertheless, the *main* architect of the imperial ideology as Japan mobilized for war in the early Shōwa period was the state, especially bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education.

If we survey developments from the Meiji Restoration to 1945, we can see that by the early twentieth century, tensions began to emerge between the newly constructed nationalism and the rapid change we can guardedly term "modernization." In key respects, modernization is propelled by rationality and, as Weber has argued, this exerts a secularizing influence that causes "disenchantment" with the world and leads us out of the "garden of magic." Nationalism, on the other hand, calls for certain leaps of faith into clusters of beliefs, rites, and institutions that exhibit, as Carlton Hayes outlined nearly a century ago, quasi-religious characteristics.[99] Charles Keyes, Helen Hardacre, and Laurel Kendall argue that "[w]hile the modernizing stance leads to a deemphasis of ritual practices, the nation-building one leads to the promotion of selected practices and even the invention of new rites.[100] Modernization emphasizes rational action; nation-building insists on a commitment of faith."[101] Interestingly, Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa nationalists, including sectarian Buddhist leaders, while working to modernize Japan (and Buddhism), strived to re-enchant the world as they invested the emperor with charisma (of both personality and office) and established rituals and other "mnemonic sites"[102] around which the populace could gain new faith in the emperor and a "correct" understanding of the Imperial Way and the *kokutai* in conjunction with State Shinto. At first, in the early Meiji period, modernization and nationalism complemented each other, one providing economic and military strength and the other legitimating the new government while performing a socially integrative and motivational function. From the 1890s, however, problems emerged as conditions caused by modernization came to collide with the official nationalism, and it was in the midst of these tensions that Imperial-Way Buddhism took its most distinct form.

Specifically, the process of modernization, with its largely secular character, generates various costs, what William Pfaff refers to as the "traumas of modernization"[103] and Japanese in the nineteenth century termed *bunmeibyō*, "the ills brought by civilization."[104] With its urbanization and industrialization, Japanese modernization gradually undermined the very traditions and institutions—such as agrarian life, the home, the village—on which the builders of nationalism drew. It subverted the formulation of Japanese identity in terms of a harmonious national family headed by a benevolent, patriarchal emperor.[105] In particular, "The very process of modernization had brought about fundamental social conflicts,

by creating a new urban proletariat. The government tried to contain this structural conflict by rejecting the very idea of conflict, and stressing a harmonious, integrated conception of the society."[106] The emergence of a proletariat was not the only threat to social harmony and state control, however. In the Taishō period,

> Politics, the economy and society were all being buffeted furiously. There was the social upheaval that accompanied the Russian revolution and the spread of socialist thought; the onslaught of recession following the war; the founding of the Japanese Communist Party; the massive economic and social body-blows dealt by the Kanto earthquake; the eruption of the Toranomon incident, in which an attempt was made on the life of the Crown Prince; the growing movement to protect the constitution (*goken undō*); the failure of party politics; and the establishment and publication of the Peace [Public Order] Preservation Law (*Chian iji hō*) to coincide with the granting of suffrage.[107]

By the 1920s and 1930s, as Carol Gluck has highlighted, the nationalist formulations seemed at odds with people's experiences: workers lived and toiled apart from other family members, and the five Confucian relationships referenced by the Imperial Rescript on Education seemed less relevant. "The landlords were no longer offering succor to distressed tenants, and the companies were not yet acting in a paternalistic role on any significant scale. Thus the government's periodic calls for local self-help seemed more and more feeble in the face of the economic troubles in the countryside."[108] Japan was suffering, in the terminology of Jürgen Habermas, a "legitimation crisis," most evident in the "life world" of societies where uneven economic growth leads to, among other things, a weakening of loyalty to the status quo on the part of those receiving less of the distribution of newly generated wealth.[109] We see this especially with military officers from rural areas hard hit in the late 1920s who participated in the various coup attempts and other "incidents" in the first half of the 1930s. Expressed differently, Japan was experiencing cracks in what Peter Berger has termed "plausibility structures."[110] In Durkheimian language, collective representations and collective conscience started teetering. The sense of collectivity—or the sense of being part of a nation—and the accompanying representations of an integrated Japanese tradition were largely a Meiji invention with shallow roots, and by the 1930s they were threatened by jarring social, economic, and political changes.

Facing these challenges, Japanese leaders were promoting what Maruyama Masao later construed as "the most striking functions of pre-war nationalism": "concealing or repressing all social opposition, restraining the emergence of an

autonomous consciousness from among the people, and diverting social discontent towards fixed domestic and foreign scapegoats."[111] But not successfully. The main ideological constructs were faltering, for at this time there developed "increasing disparity between ideology and experience."[112] And with those constructs "no longer perceived as natural, more artifice and force were required to maintain their dominant position."[113] Ideologues worked harder at indoctrination (*kyōka*), offering ever grander elaborations of, for example, the *kokutai*. "The 1930s, the decade in which the term '*tennōsei*' [imperial system] was coined, was also the one in which its ideological orthodoxy rigidified" and took on an "increasingly coercive nature."[114] This is the context we ought to keep in mind as we assess Buddhist statements and actions in the early Shōwa period.

Although the primary traditions deployed by Japanese architects of nationalism were Shinto and Confucianism, Buddhism did, as we have seen, play a supporting role in advancing the imperial ideology and, more broadly, Japanese imperialism. By offering this support—ideologically, ritually, and institutionally—from the Meiji Restoration through the end of the Fifteen-Year War, Buddhists maintained their traditional symbiosis with rulers. The modern coloring here—the nationalist concern for cultivating a unifying identity and mobilizing the populace for war—was not the only distinctive characteristic of this chapter in the history of Japanese Buddhist collaboration with those in power.

In key respects Buddhists were cultivating the traditional symbiosis with greater urgency than in the past. From the 1860s, as discussed in chapter one, institutional Buddhism had been confronting a series of crises: criticisms of Buddhism as parasitic and foreign; the loss of property and revenues during and after the brief early Meiji repression of Buddhism (which constituted a partial breakdown of the traditional symbiosis); erosion of the parishioner system (*danka seido*) and the derivative wealth and power of Tokugawa Buddhism as the Meiji government eliminated temple registration (*shūmon-aratame*) and ordered all Japanese to register at Shinto shrines (*ujiko-aratame*); the loss of followers as industrialization and urbanization led parishioners away from rural family temples and in many cases toward "new religions" (*shinshūkyō*) that proselytized to disenfranchised and disenchanted urban workers; financial scandals caused by sectarian leaders (in the case of Shin Buddhism); doctrinal struggles;[115] internal criticisms by sectarian reformers;[116] external criticism by Marxists and Shinto ideologues in the early Shōwa period; and government restrictions on Buddhism as Japan mobilized for and waged war.

In particular, denominational Buddhism was confronting a symptom of the traumas of Japanese modernization: the popularity of new religions, labor movements, and leftist perspectives, all of which promised succor to those who suffered

from those traumas. From the middle of the nineteenth century, Buddhist sects had been losing parishioners to new religious movements, and by 1900 they were starting to get criticized by Marxist thinkers. Up through the 1920s, unions and leftist political organizations were luring away parishioners as well. Analyzing the actions of Buddhist sects in the early Shōwa, Sheldon Garon writes,

> Few within the established religions or intelligentsia were willing to apply the constitutional protection of Article 28 [of the 1889 constitution] to the so-called pseudo-religions (*ruiji-shūkyō*) or evil cults (*jakyō*). Most religious orders insisted not so much on freedom from the state as inclusion within the national orthodoxy. Buddhists strove to use official recognition to strengthen themselves and weaken the Christians. . . . And almost all established religions demanded that the state defend their notion of the social order and public morality from the Communists, on one hand, and the new religions, on the other.[117]

This demand did not fall on deaf ears, for the state was concerned about the same groups that posed threats to established Buddhism.

The leaders of new religious and political movements were lifting up objects of allegiance that were transcendent of the emperor and forming mass movements seemingly beyond governmental control. Government officials feared any movement or organization that had international affiliations, attracted nationwide followings, criticized the imperial system, or expressed primary loyalty to something separate from or, worse yet, *above* the emperor, whether the Comintern, the *Lotus Sūtra*, or a charismatic leader.[118] With their international character, socialism and communism were deemed a special threat. To make matters worse, in prewar Japan the only group to call for the overthrow of the emperor system (*tennōsei datō*) were the communists.[119] In this context, "it came about that the socialists and Communists, who could muster at best a very minor threat to political authority, communal activity or national harmony, represented a far more serious threat to the emperor system which undergirded all of these other elements."[120] Or, as Patricia Steinhoff puts it, "The emperor system was carefully built up during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into a powerful integrative force, bolstering political authority, facilitating communal activity and reducing internal conflict. Under these circumstances, any attack on the emperor system was perceived by that system's political beneficiaries as undermining political authority, impeding communal activity and creating internal dissension."[121]

By the 1920s, mainline Buddhist leaders and government officials had come to share an adversarial relationship with both new religious movements and those

who were leveling Marxist criticisms of religion and the state, organizing or joining unions, participating in socialist and communist political parties, or directing their allegiance beyond Japanese borders to the Comintern. Simply put, sectarian Buddhist self-interest came to parallel that of the state.

This situation provided an opportunity for mainline Buddhist institutions to align with the state in the face of shared adversaries and thereby reclaim some of the patronage and status lost at the beginning of the Meiji period. Seizing this opportunity, early Shōwa Buddhist priests readily agreed to participate in propaganda campaigns orchestrated by the Home Ministry and the Ministry of Education to eradicate "dangerous thought" by affirming the official imperial ideology.[122] Specifically, Buddhism was mobilized from within and without to prop up the "restorative" representations of the emperor (*tennō*), *kokutai*, and imperial country (*teikoku*), as well as the accompanying values of loyalty and obedience. And in the 1930s and early 1940s, while tightly regulated by the state, Buddhist leaders bolstered their social and political position further by cooperating with Japanese colonialism and the war effort.

This self-interested collaboration with the state, as we have seen, started with the arrival of Buddhism in Japan and became especially pronounced in the Meiji period. "In response to the anti-Buddhist policies of the 1870s," Sheldon Garon writes, "most Buddhist denominations had . . . thrown themselves into collaborating with the state. By doing so, they hoped to regain the privileged position enjoyed during the Tokugawa era."[123] Winston Davis agrees: "Institutional Buddhism responded to persecution by frantically proclaiming its loyalty and devotion to the regime. . . . Its overwhelming concern was the recovery of its own privileges, comfort, and security."[124] In part, they tried to regain their past status by agreeing to government intervention in the religious arena and collaborating with the government (and thereby also securing the ability to buy back at minimal prices land that had been confiscated in the early Meiji period).[125]

This method of dealing with modern crises led Ichikawa to label Zen and other forms of Japanese Buddhism "opportunistic."[126] Though apt, this label runs the risk of implying that Buddhist leaders were narrowly self-interested, crass opportunists. Evidence indicates that mixed in with this opportunism was no small measure of patriotism, cultivated by the Ministry of Education and other institutions since the nineteenth century. But sectarian Buddhists did seize an opportunity, and their alliance with the modern state and its imperial ideology did help them ward off external challenges, restore some of the power Buddhism had lost, and avoid change in what some had deemed feudal institutions.[127] Some readers may construe their stance as an example of the political "co-optation" of religion that runs through most forms of nationalism. Strictly speaking, however, co-optation

is not what occurred, for in general Buddhism never existed apart from politics or the government in Japan. With the exception of several premodern cases and the brief period of suppression at the beginning of the Meiji period, Buddhism has usually been highly embedded in Japanese society and politics, earning it the label "Buddhism for the protection of the realm." In the case of Zen, its leaders have generally come from the ruling class of Japan, whether the court, the aristocracy, or powerful samurai and landowning families, and their collaboration with political and military leaders should be seen as an exchange between social equals.

Another reason we should be wary of seeing Zen leaders in the early Shōwa as freely acting opportunists (or, as Victoria would have it, zealous nationalists) is that they were at the receiving end of a number of pressures at that time. They and other Buddhists were not only roundly criticized by Marxist thinkers and Shinto nationalists but brought increasingly under the scrutiny and control of the state.

While the pressure on Japanese Buddhism in the 1930s was steady, it does not appear to have been severe enough to merit the label some apologists have ascribed to that situation: "second *haibutsu kishaku*." One could argue, however, that Buddhists' ideological response to that pressure does merit the label "second *honji suijaku*," or simply, the second, third, or fourth round of ongoing syncretism in Japanese religious history. As indicated above, whether performing rituals for victory or participating in edification campaigns to eradicate "dangerous thought," Buddhists lent to Japanese imperialism not only their practices and institutions but their doctrines as well, linking them to constructs in the imperial ideology in *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai* and *The Way of Subjects*. In this modern instance of syncretism, the writers aligned Buddhist doctrines with Shintoist and Confucian notions circulating in the charged air of early Shōwa Japan. Heirs to a long history of interreligious amalgamation in Japan, they drew correspondences, not simply between buddhas (or bodhisattvas) and kami but between buddhas and one kami, and, more broadly, between Buddhist doctrines and an imperial ideology of recent provenance.

Though Shinto ideologues may have seen Buddhism as subversive, in the "thought wars" of the early Shōwa period most mainstream Buddhists were anything but subversive. More often than not they supported the imperial system and wartime mobilization, offering them legitimation, defined by Peter Berger as "socially objectivated 'knowledge' that serves to explain and justify the social order."[128] Berger elaborates: "Religion legitimates social institutions by bestowing upon them an ultimately valid ontological status, that is, by locating them within a sacred and cosmic frame of reference."[129] Exemplifying what Berger describes, Buddhist writers in the early Shōwa not only supported Shintoist arguments about the sacred ontological status of the imperial household and the cosmogonic role of the imperial ancestors but shored

up those arguments by deploying conceptual resources in Buddhist ontology and cosmology to link, for example, the emperor with Amida, and Japan with the Pure Land. In this way they offered *legitimation* to the imperial system and government policies[130] while granting *legitimacy* to their own religious institutions, which had been reeling from the early Meiji branding of traditional Buddhism as illegitimate (because of its foreign origins), degenerate, and parasitic.[131]

In performing its legitimating role in the midst of conflict surrounding traumas of modernization, denominational Buddhism exhibited what Berger describes as the "world-maintaining"—as opposed to the "world-shaking"—character of religion.[132] More exactly, in an attempt to recover past power and to ensure future security, institutional Buddhism was pursuing a world-recovering and world-forming role.[133] This effort entailed a dual trajectory, toward the past and toward the future from a valorized present (including, in Nishida Kitarō's idiom, the "absolute present" of the imperial household).[134] This trajectory paralleled and contributed to the bivalency of Japanese cultural discourse from the Meiji period, which, as sketched in chapter one, hinged upon restoration of the past (*fukko*) and renovation (*ishin*)[135] into the future.

But, in supporting the imperial ideology, how major an impact did Buddhists have on the Japanese? How deeply did their discourse seep into Japanese psyches? As Roland Barthes has noted, ideological constructs can become naturalized to the point of being regarded as commonsensical, but to what extent did the constructs in the imperial ideology permeate Japanese psyches as common sense (*jōshiki*)? How diverse was the reception? How multiple were the readings, especially given the various versions and (re)deployments of the ideology?[136] How much room was there for negotiating meaning? In her analysis of the ideology surrounding the kamikaze, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney lifts up Pierre Bourdieu's construct of *méconnaisance*—that which is occurring "when people do not share a meaning but rather derive different meanings from the same symbols and rituals"—to emphasize how ideologies can be received through divergent interpretive lenses.[137] And what about coercion? Gramsci has noted that ideologies are fully operative when consent reigns over coercion, and in the case of Japan the threat of coercion, of violence, always loomed just off stage, whether by the Special Higher Police (Tokkō) or the Military Police (Kenpeitai).

Irokawa Daikichi provides a partial answer to these questions. "The emperor system as a way of thinking was like an enormous black box into which the whole nation, intellectuals as well as commoners, unknowingly walked. Once within its confines, the corners of the box were obscured in the darkness, the people were unable to see what it was that hemmed them in." But even so, "the notion of *kokutai* never penetrated the inner life of the people deeply enough to have become

a spiritual axis;" otherwise, "there would have been no need for Japan to become a police state, as it did in the years preceding the war." And because the ideology was not completely assimilated, "the government remained afraid and insecure, reacting to even the slightest evidence of popular unrest with its distinctive ideological response."[138] As Ichikawa was wont to point out, even about himself, not a lot of force was needed in that government reaction, for most Japanese acquiesced and resigned themselves to their situation.[139] Hence the frequency of shallow *tenkō*, of easy ideological conversions rather than active resistance or lasting conversion. In this respect, insofar as obedient, resigned subjects accepted the ideology, hegemony was established, or at least the ideology stood relatively unchallenged, even if it was not actively negotiated and consciously appropriated by most subjects to the extent it was by Japanese examples of what Louis Althusser has termed "organic intellectuals," whether clerics, local officials, school teachers, or elite faculty members at imperial universities.

Though Irokawa and others may have been able to gauge how deeply imbued Japanese became with the overall imperial ideology, it appears much more difficult to measure the net effect of Buddhist leaders' ideological writings and talks on other Japanese. At the very least we can safely argue that statements by Zen and other Buddhists buttressed the philosophical claims and social values codified in the main "texts" of the imperial ideology, whether the 1882 Imperial Rescript for Soldiers, the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, ethics textbooks (*shūshin sho*) in the schools, or the consummate text of the imperial ideology, *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai*. Yet even when engaging in the activities and making the ideological moves sketched in chapter one, Buddhist sects were never in the vanguard of Japanese imperialism, though they followed closely on its heels. With their overall stance of conformity (*junnō-taisei*) to the wishes of the political and military leaders of imperial Japan, they stood at the center or slightly right of the center of the political spectrum. In contrast, maverick Buddhist individuals and groups positioned themselves at either end. The Alliance of New Buddhist Youth resided on the left, while Inoue Nisshō and Kita Ikki, with their versions of Nichiren nationalism and active encouragement of Japanese imperialism, fell on the ultranationalist end of the spectrum. On the right end of the spectrum we also find the Value-Creation Education Society, nationalist yet in tension with the state because of disagreements about the relative statuses of the *Lotus Sūtra* and the emperor.[140] Interestingly, these leftist and rightist figures were all Nichiren Buddhists. Their political involvement found a prototype in Nichiren, who wrote extensively about the role of the *Lotus Sūtra* in protecting the nation (and vice versa) and zealously condemned his fellow Kamakura clerics. Nichiren's dual commitment to constructing a "Lotus land" in Japan and denouncing whatever he regarded as standing in the

way of that construction, such as other Buddhist practices and institutions, provided a template for radicalism—at either end of the political spectrum.

What we see in the Taishō and early Shōwa period is, in sum, a modern instance of "Buddhism for the protection of the realm" (*gokoku Bukkyō*), or what has been termed "protecting the Dharma, protecting the realm" (*gohō gokoku*). The former expression encapsulates the traditional role Buddhist institutions have played in supporting rulers and their governments through ritual praxis, and the latter expression conveys the symbiosis operating in this pattern. Traditionally, these expressions have been read as indicating that certain Buddhist rituals and sutras can protect the ruler and the country, making them safe and stable, and for this reason Buddhism should be protected and promulgated by the government. The pitch is that leaders "can protect the country by protecting the Dharma" (basically, by patronizing Buddhism). In early Shōwa Buddhism, Zen included, we see the traditional flip side of this logic at work, the idea that Buddhists can "protect the Dharma by protecting the country," that is to say, they can protect Buddhist institutional interests by supporting the Japanese state. In this way, during the Taishō and early Shōwa periods Buddhists were highly "engaged" in the social and political realms, especially in activities that promoted Japanese nationalism and imperialism.

Contrary to Victoria's presentation of Zen, which parallels Ichikawa's claim that "the Zen of modern Japan was more a Zen that waged war than a Zen that got caught up in war,"[141] I would argue that because of institutional self-interest, limited knowledge of the suffering the Japanese military was inflicting on other Asians, a traditional closeness to military leaders, indoctrination through the imperial education system, and by extension a good measure of patriotism as fully socialized Japanese citizens, Zen leaders jumped onto, and to some extent were pushed onto, a bandwagon that had been set in motion by other actors. Once aboard, they deployed their charisma, ideological resources, doctrines, ritual systems, and institutional structures both on the home front and in missions abroad to support the imperial system and the war effort.[142] It was this response that Ichikawa variously labeled "opportunism" (*hiyorimi-shugi*), "accommodationism" (*junnō-shugi*), and "actuality-ism" (*genjitsu-shugi*).

In looking over the historical record of Imperial-Way Zen, the lingering issue is not so much the *presence* of some sort of zealous nationalism or veneration of the sword but the *absence* of resistance, however difficult that might have been at that time. As we will see in the next two chapters, for Ichikawa one of the crucial postwar ethical issues was how to clarify Zen's war responsibility, secure critical distance from the state, and then, from a detached standpoint free from "accommodationism," criticize if not actively resist the government when deemed morally necessary.

CHAPTER FIVE

Quick Conversions and Slow Apologies in Postwar Japan

Whether one views Imperial-Way Zen primarily as an inevitable outcome of an overemphasis on "peace of mind," an extreme expression of the historical "unity of Zen and the sword," or a modern instance of "Buddhism for the protection of the realm," hovering over Zen and other sects of Japanese Buddhism is the issue of the extent to which their leaders and institutions should bear responsibility for Japan's expansionist imperialism and the Fifteen-Year War. This normative question raises the empirical question of what Buddhists have said or done since 1945 about their possible war responsibility (*sensō sekinin*), what moral and political stances they have taken in postwar Japan, whether those stances diverge from the traditional symbiotic relationship between Buddhist institutions and those in power, and whether postwar Buddhists have formulated systems of social ethics rigorous enough to preclude future political stances reminiscent of Imperial-Way Buddhism.

Critical discussion of war responsibility has remained stunted in Japan since 1945, in part because of American attempts to protect the emperor from prosecution for war crimes and thereby preserve the imperial household as a cultural bulwark against civil unrest and communism in the immediate postwar period. Learning little about the war in their compulsory education, many Japanese accept the attribution of war responsibility to a coterie of military officers and, to varying degrees, view themselves as victims. Others buy into conservative portrayals of the war as an attempt to liberate Asia from Western colonialism. At the highest official levels, the Japanese have not yet engaged in any sustained public examination of war responsibility.[1]

Such an examination must begin with a clear notion of what we mean by "responsibility." As Aristotle and others have argued, responsibility is intelligible

in a moral sense as opposed to a natural-causative sense (as in "The poison ivy was responsible for my rash") when a person has the ability to act free from external coercion, is aware of the possible results of contemplated actions, and, without diminished capacity, intentionally and voluntarily performs the actions.[2] War responsibility pertains to actions in war or in support of war (sins of commission) that entail moral or legal accountability[3] and to actions that might have been done (sins of omission). In the case of Japan, wartime actions ranged across a spectrum: helping cause or guide (*shidō*) belligerence, eager collaboration (*yokusan*) from the start, collaboration following ideological conversion (*tenkō*), acquiescence, inadvertent co-optation, the maintenance of a neutral stance, non-cooperation, and resistance.

In terms of Zen's war responsibility, we must from the outset acknowledge the possibility of several mitigating factors. First, though highly nationalistic, Zen leaders did not necessarily play any significant role in *causing* Japanese aggression. I would argue, as I did in chapter four, that they were climbing onto a bandwagon that others had gotten rolling. Shaped by the imperial education system in their youth, exhilarated by the heady process of building a strong modern country, and steeped in the pervasive propaganda of the time, early Shōwa Buddhists may have simply gotten swept up in the patriotism of a country mobilizing for war, and, contrary to Victoria's characterization, were not "thoroughly and completely morally bankrupt."[4]

We must also consider the possibility that Zen leaders were acting on the basis of limited information and knowledge. "With the strict press control at the time," Hirata Seikō Rōshi of the Tenryūji branch of Rinzai Zen claims in a letter, "I and other ordinary Japanese were unaware of the nature of the conflict as a war of aggression started by our own government. Nor was it until after the end of the war, with the revelations of Japan's actions in the conquered nations of the Pacific region, that I became aware of the atrocities committed by Japanese troops, and of the cruelty with which those in the internment camps had been treated."[5] Criticizing this sort of claim, Ichikawa has written, "If Zen figures say they got caught up in things and believed it was a 'holy war,' then they have to be ashamed of their ignorance of historical actuality. During the war many people in the same confined circumstances saw it accurately as a war of imperialism. If Zen figures had possessed any scientific discernment of modern history and the actual state of world history, they would not have come up with the fallacious notion that it was a holy war."[6] To his credit, after making the above statement Hirata shifts from pleading ignorance to recognizing what Ichikawa is highlighting. About Rinzai clerics' "support for the 'sword of death' mentality of the militarists," he writes, "This deviation from the true Zen teachings was the result of ignorance and apathy

on the part of Rinzai priests toward our own religious tradition and philosophy, toward history, and toward the global situation at the time."[7] In speaking of the priests' apathy here, Hirata seems to acknowledge that while many people did have the "discernment" that Ichikawa mentions, Zen priests were simply not interested in "the global situation" as opposed to being ignorant of Japanese belligerence because of censorship or a lack of information.

At the very least, however, we need to remain open to the possibility that the information Zen leaders had at their disposal was limited and often distorted and hence we should refrain from judging them on the basis of the vast information we currently have about Japanese actions during the war. Otherwise, with hindsight privy to the more gruesome facets of Japanese belligerence, we can easily slip into wondering why ostensibly wise and compassionate Buddhists went along with and never spoke out against the military aggression that generated the Rape of Nanking and brutality against POWs. Of course, though Zen leaders may have lacked information about these specific actions, they presumably were aware of broader dimensions of Japanese imperialism that careful scrutiny would have revealed to be ethically problematical.

In terms of other possible mitigating factors, while Zen leaders may have possessed this awareness and cannot plead ignorance, they were at the receiving end of immense pressure from the government. If we agree with ethicists that people cannot be held morally responsible for actions they were forced to do or could not avoid doing, we need to take this oppression in early Shōwa Japan into account. Many Japanese have argued that they really had no choice but to participate in the war, given the coercive power wielded by the thought police of the Home Ministry and the military police (*kenpei*), as well as the threat of incarceration, torture, economic ruin, and social ostracization. In response to this argument, however, Victoria applies a strictly calibrated yardstick: "Large-scale resistance, of course, never occurred, but those few Buddhists who did oppose Japan's war policies demonstrated that resistance was possible if one were prepared to pay the price. Each and every Japanese Buddhist did have a choice to make."[8] While resistance was certainly an option at that time, there was, as Victoria rightly points out, a price to pay, a very high price. When Buddhist leaders did speak out or actively resist, they risked losing their clerical status and hence their livelihood, no small loss for married priests with wives and children to support. Worse yet, they could be imprisoned, and when political prisoners resisted demands for recantation (*tenkō*), they could expect to be tortured until they submitted. So while Japanese Buddhists did have ample opportunity to be analogues to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the likely cost may have silenced priests who might otherwise have spoken up and led them to simply try to make the best of a difficult situation. Buddhist chaplains, for example,

may have seen their work as offering succor to people suffering at the hands of an oppressive state. Zen priests and professors with a Buddhist persuasion (such as Nishida Kitarō) may have seen their lectures on Zen approaches to combat and death as offering support to young people waiting to be conscripted and sent off to war. And for all we know, some Zen masters may have searched for ways of resistance less conspicuous than protesting publicly; in their contact with military and political elites, to take one concrete possibility, they may very well have quietly urged military restraint if not alternative foreign policies.

In light of these possibly mitigating factors, as we address Buddhist war responsibility what we need to engage in is less a condemnation of Zen leaders as fanatical, jingoistic, or "morally bankrupt" agents in the rise and spread of Japanese fascism than a careful examination of Buddhist ethical choices made in the midst of a complex historical situation and in tension with such Buddhist ideals as compassionate bodhisattvas willing to pay the highest price.[9]

In his assessment of Zen war responsibility, Ichikawa complicates things from the start when he claims Zen's non-attached, elegantly fluid way of being (*fūryū no kyōgai*) allows little room for responsibility.[10] Yet this is not a problem solely in Zen. Together with Dōgen's statements, "To study the self is to forget the self" and "think of neither good nor evil, right nor wrong,"[11] we find Shinran saying things like "I know nothing at all of good and evil,"[12] and when this kind of Buddhism is "practiced in union with 'the [Shinto] Way' of according with the will of the kami . . . an ethic of responsibility cannot be established."[13] From Ichikawa's perspective, then, it was no surprise that up until the 1960s when he was making these statements, Zen institutions had not yet broached, much less grappled with, their war responsibility.[14]

One might retort, of course, that while denominations may have been slow to issue official statements of remorse and apology, individual Japanese Buddhists felt contrition at the end of the war. Indeed, soon after the surrender, Buddhist clerics joined other Japanese in heeding Prime Minister Higashikuni's call for mass repentance (*ichioku sōzange*).[15] To Ichikawa, however, the collective repentance of the hundred million (*ichioku sōzange*), like its wartime derivation, the sacrificial death of the hundred million (*ichioku gyokusai*), lacks any rigorous sense of responsibility and falls far short of any "ethics of character" (*jinkaku rinri*). Rather, this mass repentance was one component of the "loyal response" to the remarks Emperor Hirohito made in his radio speech on August 15, 1945, about "enduring the unendurable and suffering what is insufferable . . . believing in the imperishability of the divine land (*shinshū*) . . . directing all energies toward constructing the future . . . and enhancing the glory of the *kokutai*."[16] Ichikawa argues that "[i]nsofar as the war started with an imperial decision (*seidan*) and ended with an imperial decision,

no consciousness of responsibility arose. The only responsibility was vis-à-vis the emperor for the defeat."[17] That is to say, the repentance was directed toward the emperor—repentance for not having won the war—rather than toward any acts the Japanese committed in that war or toward the war as a whole. Higashikuni's approach "absolved the emperor of any responsibility for the war, spread responsibility for the defeat equally among the Japanese without any distinctions, and, needless to say, revealed the absence of any consciousness of responsibility toward the peoples of Asia."[18] Ichikawa refers to this as "vertical responsibility," with even the emperor apologizing upward to the imperial ancestors. This type of responsibility provides no basis for "horizontal" responsibility toward other people, especially non-Japanese. Basically concurring with Ichikawa, Andrew Barshay argues that the construct of collective repentance "dissolved all individual responsibility in a collective gesture meant more to foster domestic tranquility than to face the painful question of why the war was begun and how human beings act in wartime."[19] And renowned political scientist Maruyama Masao comments, "There can be no doubt whatsoever that the 'collective repentance of 100 million' was in reality no more than a squid's jet of black ink released by a ruling group facing a desperate situation,"[20] enabling them to obfuscate true responsibility and, as those who should have shouldered responsibility, to elude danger.

These shortcomings of collective repentance and the lack of serious reflection on the war and responsibility are evident, Ichikawa argues, in a statement by Zen thinker Itō Rinsaku (1893–?):

> During the Second World War we occasionally talked in terms of a hundred million with one mind, promoting the holy work at hand. The action on which our country staked its life—the attempt to break through absolutism and slavery, oppression and intolerance, and construct a pleasurable land of coexistence and co-prosperity—is certainly holy work. Because we made mistakes with the means and methods to that end, we committed great mistakes and things ended in failure, but shining eternally in the cultural history of humankind will be our accomplishments, our waking up the various ethnic groups around the world who had been constrained by slavery and oppression at that time, our creating the great opportunity to construct a world of freedom and independence, and our leading all enslaved and oppressed peoples to independence.[21]

About this claim, Ichikawa writes, "Can we not detect 'absolutism and slavery, oppression and intolerance' in the directives that the Ministry of Education and Military Information Bureau (*Gunjōhō-kyoku*) issued to Buddhist sects to delete

certain words of their founders from scriptures, and in the arrest and imprisonment of Kariya Nichi'nun for lifting up Nichiren's mandala in his *Essentials of the Doctrines of the Honmon Hokke Sect* (*Honmon-hokke-shū kyōgi kōyō*)?"[22] Referring to a text published by the Nishi Honganji Wartime Doctrinal Guidance Headquarters (Honpa Honganji Senji Kyōgaku Shidō Honbu), *Shin Buddhism as the Religion of the Imperial Country* (*Kōkoku shūkyō to shite no jōdo shinshū*), which included a supplement, "Yasukuni and the Pure Land" (*Yasukuni to jōdo*), Ichikawa continues, "The content [of this text] constitutes an alarming violation of the spirit of Shinran. The 'absolutism and slavery, oppression and intolerance' was [as Linji would phrase it] right at people's feet. The place for constructing a pleasurable land of coexistence and co-prosperity was not continental China or Southeast Asia. The [Honganji] foothold itself was mistaken. The illumination of what is right at one's feet was lacking. It was not a simple issue of means and methods."[23]

Drawing on terminology used to describe stages of submission by leftists during the war, Ichikawa argues that the imperial rescript declaring the end of the war constituted the emperor's setback (*zasetsu*), while his declaration of his humanity on New Year's Day in 1946 was his ideological recantation and conversion (*tenkō*). And in the case of Imperial-Way Buddhism's setback and recantation, "The core of the logic and ethics in that recantation consisted of the logic and ethics of 'fail not to scrupulously obey imperial commands when you receive them' (*shōshō-hikkin*). The 'holy war,' and the 'Imperial-Way Buddhism' that supported that war, began with imperial commands and ended with imperial commands. The fundamental reason that our sense of war responsibility is so weak lies in this, the [sociopolitical] system in which we 'fail not to scrupulously obey imperial commands.'"[24] Aware of this issue, Ichikawa argued repeatedly that a public reckoning with the question of war responsibility, in conjunction with reflection on Buddhists' lack of autonomy, was *the* central task for postwar Buddhists.

Up through Ichikawa's most active period of writing in the 1960s and 1970s, Zen sects had not addressed their war responsibility, but one might wonder whether Zen leaders, after being freed in August of 1945 from oppressive state institutions, learned from their mistakes, changed their behavior, and overcame their traditional pattern of taking accommodationist political stances. Less than a month after the Japanese surrender, however, Rinzai Zen master Seki Seisetsu (1877–1945) declared, "As if thrown thousands of feet down into a ravine, for three days I couldn't sleep. When the emperor commands us to fight, we fight; when he commands us to stop, we stop. All I thought was that there's nothing else we could do."[25] In early 1947 a statement by his fellow Rinzai teacher Sugawara Jihō (1866–1956) revealed that while "Imperial-Way Zen" may have ceased in August of 1945, Zen's accommodationism and scrupulous obedience of commands did not:

> Without being biased, we should think of ourselves as a boat and proceed without contending against the drift of the times. Religionists and ordinary people ought to think carefully about this. . . . If we were to go against the drift we could not move forward, and for this reason we should accommodate and acquiesce (*junnō*), or, more bluntly put, we have no other path but to listen and do what America says.[26]

Ichikawa comments that in this statement "the kind of self that has an autonomous character (*jinkaku*) and criticizes and resists the drift of the times cannot be found. And insofar as individual character is lacking, there is no place for 'responsibility' to be established. An 'ethic of emotions' (*shinjō no rinri*) may emerge, but an 'ethic of responsibility' (*sekinin no rinri*) cannot."[27] That is to say, while Zen may offer an ethic built upon mental states, it does not provide the kind of ethic seen in a critical, autonomous individual with character (*jinkaku*).[28]

Ichikawa elaborates by arguing that an ethic of harmony (*wa*) and the "path of no-self" lie behind Seki's statement that "[w]hen the emperor commands us to fight, we fight; when he commands us to stop, we stop."

> The point of mediation if not fusion between Japanese Buddhism and the experience of the "holy war"—which combined the experience of the imperial system and the experience of war—was, in Zen terms, "forgetting the self" (Dōgen) or, in Pure Land Buddhist terms, "Other Power." This was concretized in "obedience to the imperial command" (*taishō hōsai*) declaring war. Presupposing both the categorical imperative to "take non-contention as your principle" and [the reverence of] the Three Treasures, the maxim in the third article of the Seventeen-Article Constitution, "fail not to obey imperial commands scrupulously when you receive them," connects directly to the "freedom of religion" that presupposes the categorical imperative [implied] in article three of the "Great Japanese Imperial Constitution": "the emperor is sacred and inviolable."[29]

This constellation of self-forgetting, harmonious non-contention, and obedience makes up what Ichikawa terms the "ethic of emotions." "In Zen terms this approach [of the ethic of emotions] is seen in such expressions as 'Gain and loss, affirmation and negation—throw it all away' and 'proceed directly ahead' (*bakujiiki shinzen*) . . . and it melded with the 'not putting things into words' (*kotoage sezu*) of Shinto and settled into the 'failing not to scrupulously obey imperial commands' that was woven into the declaration of war."[30] And spanning wartime and postwar Japan, the attitude that "the emperor said fight so we fought, and the emperor said to stop

fighting so we stopped" exemplifies the Zen approach of "making oneself master of every situation" and "turning in accordance with the myriad circumstances," and "[w]hen this accommodating path of no-mind leads one to dwell in a static sense of oneness between one's subjectivity and external things . . . any possible ethic of responsibility gets miscarried."[31]

In this attempt to clarify Zen's wartime ethic and come to terms with his own—and Zen's—culpability, Ichikawa expands the construct of war responsibility. "Fundamentally, responsibility for war is responsibility for peace. War responsibility is not something that first emerges upon the outbreak of fighting. In the midst of peace [before war], it exists as responsibility for peace. We did not correctly or effectively transcend the ideal image of a human being (*kitai sareru ningenzō*[32]) that was promoted by Great Imperial Japan."[33] War responsibility should be construed as encompassing the responsibility to protect peace and freedom by "performing actions in ordinary life" (*heizei gōjō*),[34] especially the kind of actions that were missing in the decades leading up to the war, when among Japanese Buddhists "there were almost no critics of the Imperial Constitution or the Imperial Rescript on Education . . . or activists engaging in 'destroying falsehood and revealing truth' (*haja kenshō*) relative to State Shinto and the system of the unity of rites and rule (*saisei-itchi*)."[35] This prewar failure to engage in criticism gradually devolved into war responsibility. Ichikawa tells his Japanese readers, "Our culpability extends through the prewar, wartime, and postwar [periods],"[36] which makes reflection only on *war* responsibility insufficient. "In this sense," he adds provocatively, "the Japanese Communist Party cannot evade responsibility for the war, either."[37] Had Japanese taken active responsibility for peace and freedom in the prewar period, the war might not have occurred, and even if it had, war responsibility would not have become such a lingering issue in postwar Japan.

Postwar Buddhists who claim to have been ignorant of what was transpiring during Japanese imperialism must address their responsibility for ignorance.

> For us to have been deceived amounts to our having been inclined to be deceived. . . . Before the Manchurian Incident, as the military and right wing strengthened their intervention in the media, public opinion, and politics, Buddhists criticizing Shidehara diplomacy for being feeble (*nanjaku*) grew increasingly strident, displaying a craftiness that aimed at accommodating the times (*taisei junnō*). But if they had been inclined to know and act correctly, if their *eyes* for seeing history had been at all accurate, they would have been able to discriminate what was false from what was true. They cannot evade responsibility for the sloth and ignorance in their ordinary minds (*heijōshin*). . . . Indeed, it

> was in our ordinary minds, not in extra-ordinary [Zen] minds, that our war crimes and war responsibility originated.[38]

Japanese Buddhists must therefore accept responsibility for failing to cultivate what Buddha with his Eightfold Path referred to as Right Understanding and Right Thought.

> Specifically, it is responsibility for our being rendered stupid and fanatical by national education (*kokumin kyōiku*) in a broad sense.[39] This ignorance and fanaticism expanded and strengthened easily, for we lacked discernment and courage because of our dereliction, calculating selfishness, and cowardice, that is, our crafty actuality-ism (*genjitsu-shugi*) and attitude of peace-at-any-price (*kotonakare-shugi*). This is evident, for example, in our becoming "voluntary" objects of the systematic manipulation of information by the authorities.[40]

This ignorance exemplifies the "pious dereliction" that Bonhoeffer discerned "in the 'virtue' of religious people who sit as spectators to historical evil in the world while maintaining their personal purity."[41]

The failure to embody Right Understanding and Right Thought, and by extension the Dharma as the ultimate foundation of the self, constitutes "culpability relative to the self and to truth. . . . This is self-deception by humans who might otherwise have been expected to seek truth and peace."[42] To take responsibility for this ignorance, Buddhists must investigate and reflect on "the dereliction through which they passively inherited the Buddhism that turned into a state religion while Christianity was banned [in the Tokugawa period] and the Buddhism that was faithful to State Shinto during the Meiji period."[43] And insofar as later Buddhist participation in the "holy war" included alliances with the government in the "domestic thought war" (*kokunai shisōsen*), "Buddhists need to reflect humbly and frankly on the fact that under the system of 'the unity of rites and rule' (*saisei-itchi*) they offered theoretical support to State Shinto as a holy-war ideology and thought-war ideology, and on the fact that with a rallying cry of being anti-communist, anti-Jewish (which connects to Auschwitz), and anti-Christian, they mobilized as proselytizers in Dharma combat (*hossen*) to break and subdue[44] heresy. What ideologically supported these facts was the theoretical principle (*ri*) behind the 'facts' (*ji*) in Japanese myths, the 'fact' of the 'founding of the nation' [by Jinmu], and, in broad strokes, the 'facts' in the 'imperial country' view of history."[45] Simply put, Buddhists must criticize the ideological construct of "seeing the principle in the particular fact" (*ji no naka ni ri o miru*).[46]

Buddhist responsibility for the war thus boils down largely to responsibility for Buddhist ideology, for the ways in which Buddhist doctrines were deployed.

> This responsibility must be pursued on the level of the *logic* and *ethics* of Buddhist *thought* (*shisō*). We can concretely clarify responsibility for Buddhist thought . . . by clarifying how Buddhists got embroiled in the national policy of "rich country strong military" in the name of the emperor through their cosmology of "indebtedness" (*on*), the ethics of "harmony" (*wa*), and the logic of "none other than" (*soku*). The last of these three has played out in the world view of "differences are none other than equality" that lies behind the philosophy of cause and effect across the three worlds, in the view of the *kokutai* in which "the one is none other than the many" (*ichi-soku-issai*) amounts to "one ruler and myriad subjects" (*ikkun manmin*), in the view of politics and economics in which ruling the world and manufacturing things (*chisei sangyō*[47]) is none other than the Buddha-Dharma, and in the view of war in which "the sword that takes life is none other than the sword that gives life" and "to kill one is to give life to many."[48]

A genuine acceptance of war responsibility thus calls less for statements of repentance or celebrations of peace and democracy than for sustained intellectual efforts. And this is a task not simply for individual Buddhist ethicists and philosophers, but for Buddhist sectarian organizations (*kyōdan*): "Insofar as the problem of Buddhists' responsibility for exploitation and war is the problem of the self-reformation of their Buddhist logic and ethics, the problem of the responsibility of Buddhist organizations is the problem of those organizations' self-reformation of their logic and ethics. This is all inseparable from the problem of how to handle the history of Japanese 'Buddhism for the protection of the realm.'"[49] At a broad level, to wrestle with Buddhist ideology is to confront wartime expressions of the "unity of the sovereign's law and the Buddha's law," which began in the medieval Japanese cultural axis formed by the sovereign's law, or the court and the *bakufu*, at one end, and the Buddha's law, or Rinzai Zen, at the other.[50]

In the domain of Buddhist responsibility, especially for ignorance, "national education" in particular raises Ichikawa's ire. He entitled one chapter of *Zen and Contemporary Thought* (*Zen to gendai shisō,* 1967) "the karmic mirror stood tall for thirty-seven years." This expression constitutes the first half of the death poem by shogunal regent Hōjō Tokimune (1251–1284):

The karmic mirror stood tall
for thirty-seven years;
a single blow from a mallet smashes it,
the Great Way is broad and tranquil.[51]

Ichikawa glosses the karmic mirror as "the way of being of a secular person who has not emptied himself of attachment to self and attachment to other things."[52] In his own case, this karmic mirror, a karma-clouded mirror, took shape during the movement to clarify the *kokutai* (*kokutai meichō undō*) and the general spiritual mobilization of the nation (*kokumin seishin sōdōin*) in the late 1930s. Ichikawa portrays himself as having been an "organization man"[53] so steeped in the norms and values of the reigning system that he lost all autonomy. Such a person's conscience, sense of responsibility, and notion of honor are shaped by "education in a broad sense: mores that include magic, religion, customs, etiquette, public opinion, and mass communication."[54] The hub of this formative process is public education.

In the years leading up to and including the Fifteen-Year War, education revolved around the emperor and the military, as exemplified by the engraving of the chrysanthemum crest of the imperial family in the stocks of the guns students used in their military exercises at schools. More than inscriptions, however, "the fundamental materials in this educational system, which construed intellectual cultivation as none other than moral education (*chi'iku-soku-toku'iku*) and cultivated loyal, 'autonomous' subjects, were the state-approved textbooks."[55] Those texts linked the pseudo-history of Japanese mythology with ethical cultivation (*shūshin*) in the schools, and their ideology was assimilated through memorization and recitation until, according to Ichikawa, it became second nature.[56] "Expressed Buddhistically, the type of thought and action that served the imperial system's control [over the Japanese] penetrated from the sixth consciousness to the seventh consciousness (Skt. *manas*), and then down to the eighth consciousness (Skt. *ālaya-vijñāna*), and thereby shaped the feelings of the people that had been raised by state power."[57] This educational system formed the "karmic mirror" of the Japanese, and from the time of the Great Teaching Promulgation Campaign in the 1870s Buddhism had been participating in this formative process.

Looking to overcome postwar ignorance, Ichikawa points out that "as the descendants of the Sun Goddess who are grounded in the 'sacred spirit of the imperial ancestors' (*kōso-kōsō no shinrei*), Japanese shouldered the great duty (*taigi*) of bringing about 'eternal peace in East Asia' through a 'holy war' (*seisen*) waged by their nation."[58] Loyal subjects to the end, Buddhist leaders played their part as ideological warriors in this imperial if not divine mission. Given how political

and religious leaders had framed the war as a sacred endeavor for the sake of the Imperial Way, Ichikawa tells his Japanese readers, "We must not grasp the experience of the war merely as an experience of war; rather, we must grasp and reflect on it thoroughly as the 'experience of holy war,' which is a combination of the experience of war and the experience of the imperial system. Without sufficient criticism of the imperial system and our internalized imperial ethos, our efforts will fall short."[59] He further declares, "One thing that is lacking in us with regard to responsibility for the *holy* war is the perspective of the people of Asia, especially Okinawans, as well as *burakumin* who have not been liberated (*mikaihō buraku*) and Koreans [in Japan]. We must first reflect on this pathological deficiency, for in it lies our *spiritual destitution*."[60] Not to take into account the historical specificity of the holy war is for Buddhist thinkers to run the risk of obfuscating if not evading personal and institutional accountability by addressing the war in universal, abstract Buddhist terms—for example, as the product of karma or psychological entanglements—and taking a quick-and-easy "pacifist" stance in postwar Japan.

Quick-and-easy pacifism does in fact characterize the postwar Buddhist organizations that made an abrupt about-face after the war. For example, following the issuance by the Supreme Command of Allied Powers (SCAP) of the Religious Corporations Ordinance (*Shūkyō hōjin rei*) in December 1945, expressions like "the dissemination of Zen for the protection of the country" (*kōzen gokoku*), "eternal prayers for the emperor" (*hōki no mukyū*), and "sanctification of the great peace" (*seika no taihei*) disappeared from Sōtō doctrinal statements.[61] Shin leaders quickly dropped their rhetoric of "the sovereign's law taking precedence" (*ōbō-ihon*) and their equations of rebirth in the Pure Land with repaying debt to the nation through utmost loyalty (*jinchū-hōkoku*). Christians stopped equating Yahweh with Ama-no-minaka-nushi-no-mikoto[62] and Christ with Amaterasu.[63] Postwar Buddhist newspapers, denominational newsletters, and books now overflowed with portrayals of Buddhism as a non-violent, compassionate tradition fully aligned with global aspirations for peace and transnational cooperation. As renowned Zen scholar Yanagida Seizan (1922–2006) highlights, "All of Japan's Buddhist sects—which not only had contributed to the war effort but had been of one heart and soul in propagating the war in their teachings—flipped as smoothly as one turns over one's hand and proceeded to ring the bells of peace."[64] (In 1955 Yanagida reacted to Rinzai Zen's about-face and its reluctance to grapple with its war responsibility by giving up his Zen robes, which he saw as a symbol of war responsibility.[65]) In Ichikawa's analysis, "Peace of mind is neutral (*chūsei*) and indifferent (*muki*) in terms of social ethics, and for this reason it was not odd to see the quick switch on August 15, 1945, from 'Imperial Way Buddhism' to 'All Humankind Buddhism.' Indeed, this switch was the wondrous functioning that

cuts through past and future, the transcendence of responsibility in the way of being in which every day is a good day."[66] And Ishii Kōsei points out a larger issue surrounding Buddhism's rapid conversion in 1945:

> Even though Japanese Buddhism had always functioned to protect the state, religious leaders who had promoted Imperial-Way Buddhism, boasted about the internationally incomparable *kokutai* [of Japan], and called for the full execution of the holy war suddenly shifted their position in response to the emperor's surrender rescript and U.S. military occupation and turned with ease to pacifism and democracy. Though most people did not think there was anything odd about this and hence did not question it, this is an important fact that flags a dimension of war responsibility that few have explored. That is to say, the religious way of being that makes this quick change of attitude possible is the very thing that generated the energetic cooperation with war before and during the Fifteen-Year War.[67]

Ishii also notes how Buddhist leaders who during the war parroted official rhetoric about liberating Asians from colonialism stopped talking about colonialism as soon as the war ended, even though that problem continued well into the postwar era across Asia.[68]

In their postwar about-face, however, Buddhists did not reject the emperor system. On August 15, 1945, expressing the concern about the "preservation of the *kokutai*" that weighed heavily on Japanese leaders in the weeks leading up to Japanese surrender,[69] Minister of Education Ōta Kōzō (1889–1981) issued the "Outline for the Practice of Religious Edification for the Reconstruction of Japan" (*Nihon saiken shūkyō kyōka jissen yōkō*), which directed the head abbots of Buddhist sects and the administrators of other religious organizations to "uphold firmly the attitude of scrupulously obeying imperial commands when one receives them (*shōshō-hikkin*) and maintain with conviction the commitment to preserving the *kokutai*."[70] The "command" to be scrupulously obeyed at that point was the imperial edict ending the war, and in response to Ōta's directive, Buddhist denominations started a movement to offer "great prayers for the preservation of the *kokutai*" (*kokutai-goji dai-kigan*).[71]

At the time of the "mass repentance" in the fall of 1945, Shinto thinker Satō Michitsugu[72] declared that the emperor was "hiding in a cave" like Amaterasu and would eventually emerge.[73] This sentiment was echoed by Tōjō Hideki before his execution in 1948, who wrote in his farewell poem, "Beneath the moss I will wait for the blooming of the chrysanthemum flower."[74] Eventually the emperor did

come out of the cave and bloom by virtue of (1) Hirohito's "Declaration of Humanity" (*ningen-sengen*) on New Year's Day 1946, (2) the decision by Joseph Keenan, chief prosecutor at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, not to pursue the emperor's responsibility, and (3) Hirohito's imperial tours (*junkō*) of the country from 1946.[75] Yet Ichikawa highlights the tension between the notion of the "imperishability of the divine land (*shinshū*)" in the speech that ended the war and the claim in the declaration of humanity that notions of the emperor's divinity were "false concepts" (*kakū naru kannen*). These "false concepts," Ichikawa points out, were linked to the suffering of people throughout Asia during the war and to such postwar incidents of right-wing violence as the televised stabbing of Prime Minister Asanuma Inejirō on October 12, 1960.[76]

To highlight this ambiguous status of the emperor in the immediate postwar years, Ichikawa lifts up an incident that occurred at Kyoto University during one of Hirohito's tours. On September 8, 1951, the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty were signed. Leftists in Japan were opposed to the "separate peace" that excluded communist countries, and they lambasted the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty for linking Japan closely to the imperialism and militarism of the United States in its Cold War antagonism toward China and the Soviet Union. In October, aware that the emperor was scheduled to visit Kyoto University the following month, students issued an open letter with questions to the emperor (*kōkai-shitsumon-jō*), in which they wrote, "You have not changed. Though in name you are now the human emperor, we cannot help but think that you are nothing more than the democracy edition of the erstwhile divine emperor. We also cannot help recognizing that at this time of separate peace and rearmament in Japan you are trying to play the role of a support pillar for the same war ideology as before."[77] When the emperor visited Kyoto University on November 12, students greeted him with peace songs rather than the unofficial national anthem left over from the war (*Kimigayo*) and with a sign that read, "Because you were a god, those who studied here before us died on your battlefield. Please, never again be a god; never again have us cry out 'Listen! The voices of the sea!' (*Kike, wadatsumi no koe*)."[78] Riot police fought with several thousand students, and after order was restored the university expelled eight students and disbanded the student association. Japanese newspapers condemned the students for being communists and committing what the papers portrayed, in terms reminiscent of the Public Order Preservation Law, as an act of lèse majesté.[79]

This incident served as a benchmark as Japan began to emerge from the Occupation, align militarily with the United States, and rearm itself.[80] To Ichikawa's way of thinking, it revealed that no one in the postwar period had clarified the distinction between the emperor as an individual person and the imperial system

in general, or had unpacked the political character of the postwar emperor's supposed apoliticality.[81] Ichikawa asks, "What was the absolute (*zettai-sha*) in the face of which the emperor declared his humanity? The imperial ancestors, or something else?"[82]

Ichikawa also criticizes what he terms the "trinity" of the flag (*Hi no maru*), the national anthem, and right-wing terrorism.[83] Japan is the only Axis power not to change its flag after World War II, and its national anthem is the same as the prewar and wartime anthem:

> Thousands of years of flourishing reign be yours.
> Rule on, my lord, till what are pebbles now
> Become fused together as boulders,
> On whose sides the moss will grow.

Ichikawa viewed the flag and anthem, as well as rightist violence in the name of the emperor, as lingering traces of the wartime imperial system.[84] Of course, after the Japanese defeat in 1945, the Occupation had sought to dismantle that system by, among other measures, disengaging Shinto from politics. SCAP issued a directive on December 15, 1945, that disestablished State Shinto, and about two weeks later, on New Year's Day 1946, Emperor Hirohito read the rescript that denied his divinity. In May of the following year the new constitution went into effect. On paper, it erected a "high wall of separation"[85] between the state and religion. Article 20 provides for freedom of religion and prohibits state imposition or sponsorship of religion: "Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the state, nor exercise any political authority. No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite, or practice. The state and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity." Article 89 prohibits the use of public money or property for religious purposes: "No public money or other property shall be expended or appropriated for the use, benefit, or maintenance of any religious institution or association, or for any charitable, educational, or benevolent enterprises not under the control of public authority."

These changes, however, failed to deal with the postwar ambiguity of the emperor's status, eliminate vestiges of the wartime imperial system, or resolve the issues surrounding the relationship between the state and religion. This failure crops up in a number of postwar incidents cited by Ichikawa.

> The notion of the people's emperor (*taishū-tennō*) has newness, but this newness does not transcend the resurgence of charges of lèse majesté,

> national administration of Ise Shrine, and movements to enact special legislation about the Yasukuni Shrine. And then there is the stopping of the 1962 issue of *The Science of Thought* (*Shisō no kagaku*), which focused on the emperor;[86] the prohibition of May Day rallies in the outer garden of Meiji Shrine; statements in the Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honchō) newspaper *Shrine News* (*Jinja Shinpō*) that Shinto ought to be placed at the center of moral education (harking back to the October 1951 Diet speech by Education Minister Amano Teiyū [1898–1980], who said that "[t]he moral core of the nation is the emperor"); and remarks by Construction Minister Kōno Ichirō (1898–1965) in the January 1963 issue of *Shrine News* that people trust politics when politics is based on religion and belief.[87]

As indicated by Ichikawa's litany here, although the 1947 constitution appeared to have erected a high wall of separation, some Japanese have chiseled away at it.

One of the main holes in the wall can be found in the Kudan section of Tokyo. Nestled in that quiet corner of the city is an institution Ichikawa criticized above, the Yasukuni Shrine. Since its founding in 1869, Yasukuni has functioned as the national shrine for the war dead and, from the late nineteenth century until 1945, as a central cultic site for State Shinto and Japanese militarism.[88] Priests at the shrine have glorified soldiers killed in war by performing rituals of apotheosis that transform their "brave spirits" (*eirei*) into Shinto gods. Technically, the rituals are not aimed only at honoring and venerating those who have died in battle, for they also function to placate the spirits of the war dead, to guarantee ritually that those spirits will not become vengeful spirits (*onryō*) because of the soldiers' untimely, traumatic deaths and the lack of proper burial rites in the midst of warfare far from the "land of the kami."[89]

Despite the deep historical connections between the Yasukuni Shrine and Japanese militarism, on June 30, 1969, the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), in apparent disregard of the postwar constitution, introduced the Yasukuni Shrine Bill (*Yasukuni hōan*), which would redefine the shrine as a secular site, provide financial support for the shrine, allow government sponsorship of ceremonies there, and grant additional subsidies to "war-bereaved families."[90] Though this bill and revised versions have all been voted down, the LDP has continued advocating official worship at the shrine, and prime ministers have paid numerous visits to the shrine, triggering protests from Chinese, Koreans, and others cognizant of the supporting role that the shrine played in Japanese imperialism.

Up until his death in 1986 Ichikawa argued that the wartime culpability of Japanese religions continues primarily in the enshrinements at Yasukuni and the

affiliated nation-protecting shrines (*gokoku jinja*) that are arrayed beneath it in a national system for memorializing dead soldiers and ritually protecting Japan from both external and internal aggressors, including the spirits of otherwise improperly memorialized soldiers. He applauds how that system was challenged by a lawsuit filed by Nakaya Yasuko over the enshrinement—against her wishes—of her husband's spirit at the Yamaguchi Prefecture nation-protecting shrine after he died in the line of duty in a 1968 car crash as an officer in the Self-Defense Forces (SDF).[91] That enshrinement was no anomaly. For decades Japanese veterans groups, in collaboration with the SDF, have commissioned apotheosis rites to enshrine postwar soldiers who have died in active duty. Nakaya, a Christian, objected to Shinto enshrinement of her husband's soul and sued the local veteran's group and the SDF. Her suit claimed that they had infringed upon what she termed her "religious human rights" (*shūkyō-jinkakuken*) by orchestrating her husband's enshrinement and that the SDF's involvement in arranging the Shinto ritual violated the constitutional separation between the government and religion. Despite some success in the lower courts, her claims, adjudicated from 1973 to 1988, were ultimately rejected by the supreme court.[92]

Ichikawa detects other vestiges of State Shinto in the desire of some officers in the Self-Defense Forces to return to the wartime designation "the emperor's army" (*kōgun*),[93] in the issue of the ownership of the Ise Shrines,[94] and in statements in 1960 by Hirata Kan'ichi, president of Kōgakkan University and head priest at Ōmi Shrine:

> Situated in an unbroken lineage down through the ages (*bansei-ikkei*), the emperor, in terms of blood lineage, has inherited the blood of Amaterasu Ōkami, and in terms of status, that is to say, with his Imperial Throne (*takami-kura*), he has inherited the throne of Amaterasu Ōkami. For these reasons, all aspects of the emperor's politics are permeated by a god's impartiality and love (*jin'ai*), and this is why he is looked upon as a manifest god (*akitsu kami*), as god manifest in human form (*arahito gami*).[95]

Ichikawa closes a 1963 discussion of the emperor system and Shinto by highlighting what he sees as the core issues:

1. Japanese myths are folk myths, and their religiosity cannot transcend the limitations of the [Japanese] folk; to transcend those limitations Japanese must discard the concept of the imperial household as the "original house" (*taisō*), which has constituted the fatal limitation to the so-called "philosophy of the Imperial Way" with its logic, ethic,

and worldview of "the eight corners of the world under one roof" (*hakkō ichi'u*).

2. Japanese must reflect on how their ethic of feelings, the mentality that reveres a certain blood lineage, is related to the mentality that disparages certain other blood lineages, as seen in Japanese attitudes toward *burakumin* and colonized peoples.
3. Japanese must consider the question of how to handle critically the irrationalism and authoritarianism of the myth of blood and land (*Blut und Boden*).
4. To formulate a peaceful version of Shinto Studies, scholars need to consider how they might deal with motifs of weapons and war in Japanese myths. . . .
5. Japanese need to engage in fundamental reflection on how thinking in terms of [the emperor's] "hiding in a cave" (*iwato-gakure*) and then "opening the cave" (*iwato-biraki*) lacks awareness of war responsibility.
6. Japanese need to clarify the attitude and responsibility they should take relative to the emperor's declaration of humanity [in 1946].
7. The emperor needs to feel indirect responsibility toward actuality, where, in line with State Shinto, he is supported by violent rightist organizations. . . .
8. Japanese must clarify the distinction and connection between the imperial system and the emperor as an individual[96] . . . as well as the political function of the emperor's "apoliticality" or "transpoliticality."[97]

Since Ichikawa highlighted these issues in 1963, Japanese leaders have strived to cultivate nationalism by (1) visiting and advocating public support for patriotic sites like Yasukuni, (2) promoting enshrinement rituals for deceased SDF soldiers and memorials at war monuments, (3) advocating (and ultimately achieving) official adoption of symbols of state, such as the rising-sun flag and the national anthem (*Kimigayo*), (4) designating February 11 "National Founding Day" (*kenkoku kinenbi*) in 1967, thereby reinstating the prewar holiday (*kigensetsu*) that commemorated the mythological creation of Japan by the first emperor Jinmu, (5) reviving in 1979 the practice of using imperial era names (*gengo*) to designate the year,[98] and (6) calling repeatedly for moral cultivation (*shūshin*) of the young, especially since Prime Minister Nakasone in the 1980s advocated that schools instill traditional values (such as self-discipline, dedication, perseverance, loyalty, and reverence for the emperor). Arguably the site of greatest contestation around these efforts has been textbooks for public schools, which need to be approved by

the central Ministry of Education, after which local school boards—appointed by prefectural governments—adopt from a list of approved texts. Postwar history and social studies texts have paid scant attention to the 1930s and early 1940s and offered a largely sanitized view of Japanese history.

Up until his death in 1986, Ichikawa argued that Zen had offered little in the way of critical reflection on these postwar issues, and, in the rare cases when Zen had spoken up, it continued to stumble ethically. He wrote in 1975 that "Imperial-Way Zen is still going strong in the Rinzai sect."[99] He cited the case of Asahina Sōgen (1891–1979), Zen master and head of the Engakuji branch of Rinzai Zen. During the war, in a criticism of Ichikawa, who at the time of the Manchurian Incident (1931) had advocated "the establishment of a buddha realm (*bukkokudo*)" in opposition to official rhetoric about "the construction of the joyous realm of the sovereign's Way (*ōdō-rakudo*)," Asahina called for "the construction of the imperial country Japan." After the war, as a representative of the Japanese chapter of the World Federation of Nations movement, Asahina flipped and adopted Ichikawa's language, construing the movement as the "20th century establishment of a buddha realm," and even invited Ichikawa to participate.[100] Though Asahina's actions may indicate a genuine conversion, he later played a central role in the formation of the right-wing Association to Protect Japan (Nihon o Mamoru Kai).[101] At an event at the Ise Shrine on June 7th and 8th, 1973, Asahina extolled "patriotism and sincerity" (*yūkoku shisei*) and urged his audience to commit themselves to "saving Japan from the danger it is facing as it struggles against communism."[102] On May 4 of the following year Asahina went with six other members of the association to the official residence of Prime Minister Tanaka to present a five-article request that, among other things, advocated making the wartime flag and anthem official and using imperial era names for dates.[103] In a 1978 book, *Are You Ready?* (*Kakugo wa yoi ka*), Asahina blamed the Sino-Japanese War on China and the Russo-Japanese War on Russia, while celebrating the Fifteen-Year War and the imperial institution.[104] Echoing the crux of the wartime ideology, he proclaimed, "The debt of gratitude owed the emperor . . . is so precious that there is no way to express one's gratitude for it or repay it."[105]

Other Zen leaders have taken similar postwar political stances. During the Cold War, some got caught up in the red scare, such as D. T. Suzuki, who wrote in 1948, "I don't know where the term 'red' for a communist comes from, but it seems that this may derive from the sense one gets that they're *hungering* for blood."[106] As seen in this statement, though Suzuki had earlier claimed that "Zen does not affirm or negate temporal actuality; actuality has historicity, with which the ultimacy of Zen has no dealings," he did not embody this ultimacy. As Ichikawa points out, "Zen layman Daisetsu [Suzuki] made all sorts of affirmations and negations

of temporal actuality."[107] Further evidence of this appears in a 1954 statement he made in the *Asahi* newspaper: "one cannot help feeling wonder at the wealth and power of the United States. One might say that this does not go beyond material civilization or improving the standard of living, but even if that is all that is involved, when we consider the importance of human effort, we must not belittle or scorn this. We must fully recognize the greatness of Americans. Leaving aside the question of whether this is positive or negative, good or bad, it is truly great that America, through its military, mechanical, economic, and scientific power, is single-handedly conducting the global confrontation with nations in the communist bloc."[108] Ichikawa responds, "When Zen layman [Suzuki] Daisetsu's 'ultimacy' functions in the mundane world of actuality, it becomes an aggressive discourse of affirmation and negation that is pro-U.S. and anticommunist. At least we can take comfort in the fact that this Zen man said nothing about the 'greatness' of the Japan that had forcefully brought several tens of thousands of Korean and Chinese farmers to Japan and made them participate in the 'holy war' against communism."[109]

Asahina and Suzuki were not alone in their anxiety about communism and other forms of leftist thought. Zen priest Ōmori Sōgen played an active and leading role in such postwar rightist organizations as the East Wind Society (Tōfū-kai), the Kantō District Council of the Restoration Movement (Ishin Undō Kantō Kyōgi-kai), the New Japan Council (Shin-Nippon Kyōgi-kai), and the Black Dragon Club (Kokuryū Kurabu).[110] Yasutani Haku'un,[111] founder of the Sanbō Kyōdan lay Zen movement, in 1971 wrote, "What people nowadays refer to as right-wing organizations constitute the true Japanism, and they take as their goal the preservation of the original Japan. There are some deformed people who have gotten entangled in the temptations and schemes of the Soviet Union and the Chinese communists and forgotten the original Japan, lost sight of the *kokutai*, belittled tradition, and ignored the imperial household."[112] He elaborates in a March 1972 article: "It goes without saying that the key officers of Japan Teachers Union are positioned at the center of these morons. . . . At present in Japan, the four opposition parties, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, the Government and Public Workers Union, the Japan Teachers Union, the Young Jurists Association, and the Federation for Peace in Vietnam . . . have on their own initiative become traitors."[113] Later in the article, attacking universities that have progressive students and faculty, Yasutani proclaims, "We must smash these sorts of universities one by one. And if under the present constitution we cannot do this, we ought to issue as soon as possible a declaration abrogating the anti-Japan constitution that is ruining the country, the pseudo-constitution that is the bastard child of the Occupation forces, and we ought to execute a fundamental reform of the educational system."[114] In July of 1972 he wrote, "The construction of a machine is brought about solely by turning

screws to the right. Turning to the right signifies construction. Turning to the left signifies destruction."[115] And in September of 1972 he proclaimed, "Communism is something that is in no way compatible with Japan's *kokutai*. Nor is it at all compatible with human morality. And it is a fact, known by all, that communism is also totally incompatible with religions that venerate kami and buddhas. For this reason, all those who call themselves Japanese should oppose communism and, in particular, religionists should band together and defeat communism."[116]

Renowned postwar Rinzai master Yamada Mumon (1900–1988) seems to diverge from Yasutani when he writes in a 1964 book in English that the price Buddhists paid to avoid further suppression in the early Meiji period was to agree to "take up arms at the time of national emergencies" and that he wished to "build a temple in every Asian nation . . . as [a] token of our sincere penitence and atonement" for the "indescribable sufferings" inflicted by Japan during the war.[117] Yet Yamada also justified the war as the vehicle through which "South-East Asian peoples could obtain their political independence."[118] Though this may in part be true, Yamada exhibits a skewed understanding of how this "liberation" was experienced by those Asian peoples. On June 22, 1976, in "Thoughts on State Maintenance of Yasukuni Shrine," a statement for the first meeting of the Association to Repay the Heroic Spirits [of Dead Soldiers]" (Eirei ni Kotaeru Kai), Yamada declared that insofar as the war granted independence to Asian countries it merits the label "holy war" and the 2.5 million Japanese who died in the war will be praised by other Asians forever.[119]

Yamada's legacy, however, has been shaped by more than his statements about the war. Zen master Kōno Taitsū points out that "Brian Victoria's presentation of Yamada Mumon Rōshi's activities was rather inadequate," for Yamada paid "postwar visits to battlefield areas, to hold memorial services for the war dead and offer prayers of penitence and condolence for the war victims of both sides. These services were offered not only for the soldiers, but also for civilians who died of disease, starvation, and injury as a result of the conflict. Mumon Rōshi made more than forty of these visits as an expression of apology for his mistaken behavior during the war."[120] Another of Yamada's students, Harada Shōdō Rōshi, writes, "Mumon Rōshi always said to his students, 'That war was a war of aggression started by Japan. We priests' transgression in failing to do what we could to prevent the conflict is something that we ourselves must seek forgiveness for.' Thus from 1967 he would travel once, twice, or sometimes three times a year to the sites of WWII battles in the South Pacific, apologizing to the people of the area, erecting memorial shrines, and conducting commemorative ceremonies for those—Japanese and non-Japanese alike—who had fallen in combat."[121] Kōno acknowledges, however, that, as Victoria has pointed out,

> even after 1945 Mumon Rōshi's actions were sometimes controversial, as when he called the Pacific War a "holy war" of independence for Asia, lauded the "heroic spirits" of the dead soldiers, and called for government support of Yasukuni Shrine (the shrine dedicated to the veneration of the military war dead). Although there were extenuating circumstances (his motivation was to console the bereaved families and assure them that, despite the mistaken nature of the war, the sacrifices of the individual soldiers had not been in vain), he nevertheless failed to acknowledge the atrocities of the Japanese troops, the betrayal of the Buddha's teachings by the Japanese Buddhist sects, and the active co-operation of the Rinzai sect authorities in promoting the war (behavior for which [in mid-2001] they have yet to repent). Thus his statements had the effect of affirming and idealizing the war.[122]

In postwar Japan, Zen has also aligned itself with corporate Japan. In what Brian Victoria terms "corporate Zen," Zen teachers have opened monastic doors for the "spiritual training" of corporate workers. Judging from the enveloping rhetoric, this training has less to do with promoting workers' religious awakening than with cultivating their discipline, obedience, gratitude (toward employers), self-sacrifice, and perseverance. A rare critic of corporate Zen, Katsuhira Sōtetsu (1922–1983), former head of the Nanzenji branch of Rinzai Zen, writes, "Of late there has been a Zen boom, with various companies coming to Zen temples saying they wish to educate their new employees to do just as they are told. But it is clear what kind of education they are seeking. They want to educate their employees to do just as they are told."[123] Echoing Katsuhira, Ichikawa claims that in the postwar period the logic of "the one is none other than the many and the many is none other than the one" has been used to promote a conservative Zen view of industrial relations. In "Zen and Industry," a symposium sponsored by the Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren), for example, speakers set forth a Zen approach to regulating human relations, in which "the most fundamental policy [of management] is to have workers rejuvenate the spirit they had as students . . . and see themselves as belonging to society, as individuals within society as a whole, and see the whole as dependent on its parts, and have them analyze themselves and work anew as single members of society."[124]

Aware of the stances of his fellow Buddhists since 1945, Ichikawa characterizes them as falling into two camps. "Some have argued that it is their religion that is truly *a democratic religion for all humankind*, while others, in rejecting the political orientation of Imperial-Way Buddhism, have argued that having an interest in politics is anti-Buddhist. These cosmopolitan and apolitical stances are similar

in that both avoid criticism of postwar political power and hence in actuality become collaborators and continue the accordance with actuality that characterized the past [during the war]."[125] To grapple with the experience of the "holy war," the postwar emperor system, and continuing problems with education in ways that go beyond a mere "psychological process," Ichikawa urges his fellow Japanese Buddhists to examine not only the war but also the range of issues surrounding the postwar imperial system, the military-industrial complexes of dominant countries, and the roles that U.S. bases in Japan have played in the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the containment of China, and, in general, "the causing of unhappiness across Asia."[126] This examination can support the optimal way of taking war responsibility: working for peace. And peace activism should be directed toward "reforming the state system, that is to say, shrinking and eliminating the power of the state, and this praxis would constitute a fundamental qualitative conversion of the place of 'pacifying the mind and establishing one's life' (*anjin-ryūmyō*)."[127] Mainline Buddhist denominations, however, have not heeded Ichikawa's call.

A devil's advocate might chime in at this point and argue that even though Buddhist sects have dragged their heels in issuing public declarations of war responsibility, in general they have learned from their wartime mistakes, so much so that they are no longer doomed to repeat them—even if Sugawara and others showed little evidence of this right after the war—and they are now firmly committed to peace, not simply dabbling in a quick-and-easy pacifism. But if that degree of change has indeed been wrought in Buddhist priests and institutions, one might have expected them to have spoken out more about postwar issues related to the "holy war" and the wartime imperial system, whether U.S. bases, the Yasukuni Shrine, textbooks that obfuscate Japanese aggression, rightist attacks on those who have raised the issue of Emperor Hirohito's war responsibility,[128] or the lack of a rigorously independent judiciary and the social and political positioning—close to those in power—of ultranationalist groups in Japan, both of which threaten the democratic bulwark against the re-emergence of an oppressive state and jingoistic imperialism. Ichikawa argues that if postwar Zen had equipped itself with a rigorous ethic, it would not be silent on these domestic problems.[129]

The task for Zen, then, is to come up with an answer to a core question: "How can Zen close the gap between its religious character of 'eternal revolution' and its traditional conservative [Japanese] Buddhist ethic, its reactionary character in which customs and authority hold sway?"[130] Drawing on its traditional emphasis on "killing the Buddha," Zen needs to formulate "an ethic that begins with the freedom to criticize the imperial system."[131] Without such criticism, Zen will be hard-pressed to secure a rigorous social ethic.[132] Ichikawa calls on his fellow Buddhists and Buddhologists to reflect critically on recantation (*tenkō*) as well,[133] and ultimately move

beyond mere criticism by formulating new systems of ethics and engaging in praxis, in public responses to such problems as the traces of State Shinto.[134]

In 1986, when Ichikawa died, Rinzai and Sōtō Zen, as well as other sects of Japanese Buddhism, were still reluctant to address their war responsibility, much less engage in such activism. The first official acknowledgment of war responsibility came in April of 1987 from Higashi Honganji, which declared that Shin Buddhist wartime rhetoric about how "guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the imperial throne" was the work of bodhisattvas and needed to be seen as "an expression of deep ignorance and shamelessness."[135] In 1991 the Nishi Honganji branch issued "A Resolution to Make Our Sect's Strong Desire for Peace Known to All in Japan and the World," which included the line, "Although there was pressure exerted on us by the military-controlled state, we must be deeply penitent before the Buddhas and patriarchs, for we ended up cooperating with the war and losing sight of the true nature of this sect."[136] In 1992, Sōtō leaders issued a declaration of repentance (*sanshabun*). Acknowledging how their sect had collaborated with Japanese imperialism through its missionary work in Asia, they wrote, "We forthrightly confess the serious mistakes we committed in the past history of our overseas missionary work, and we wish to deeply apologize and express our repentance to the peoples of Asia and the world."[137] They also admitted, "We neglected to self-critically examine our own war responsibility as we should have immediately after having lost the war in 1945."[138] And in a 1994 document, "An Appeal for the Extinction of Nuclear [Weapons]," the Jimon branch of Tendai Buddhism declared, "Having reached the fiftieth anniversary of the deaths of the atomic bomb victims, we repent of our past cooperation and support for [Japan's] war of aggression."[139]

No such statement emerged from Rinzai Zen. Cognizant of this, at a 1995 memorial service for Emperor Hanazono (1297–1348), founding patron of Myōshinji, and Nippō Sōshun Zenji (1368–1448), fourth abbot of Myōshinji, Zen master Kōno Taitsū delivered a talk on "truly knowing shame." He reminded his audience that in conjunction with a memorial service for Hanazono and Nippō fifty years earlier, Myōshinji had donated two fighter planes to the government. About this April 1945 action he argued, "If those who call themselves Buddhist live according to worldly standards, then Buddhism has lost all reason for existence and will inevitably be abandoned and left to perish."[140] He concluded the talk: "Keeping in mind the shame of our having failed to acknowledge Rinzai Zen's complicity in the Pacific War during the passage of fifty years following the end of the conflict, let us use this memorial ceremony as an opportunity to issue a clear and thoroughgoing apology for the part Myōshinji played in supporting the war."[141] Despite Kōno's moral courage, Myōshinji ignored his request.

Two years later, in *The Road to the Donation of the Fighter Planes "Rinzai,"*[142] Zen priest Mizuta Zen'itsu detailed Myōshinji's use of parishioners' donations to pay for the two fighter planes, the gift of the aircraft to the government, and other wartime actions. Like Kōno's entreaty, Mizuta's book had little effect on the recalcitrant leaders of Myōshinji. Unbeknownst to Kōno and Mizuta, however, the catalyst that would finally prod those leaders to apologize had appeared several months earlier, when Brian Victoria published *Zen at War*. Indirectly, this volume elicited a statement of apology from Myōshinji leaders, with the proximate catalyst being Ina Buitendijk, a Dutch practitioner of the Sanbō Kyōdan lay Zen organization. Buitendijk's husband had been interned by the Japanese in the Dutch East Indies during the war. In 2001, two years after reading Victoria's book, Buitendijk wrote more than twenty letters to Japanese Zen leaders asking them to help her understand why Zen had been complicit in Japanese belligerence and the harming of vast numbers of people, including her husband.

Several prominent Zen masters responded to Buitendijk's letters. Kubota Jiun, the Third Patriarch of the lay Zen group Sanbō Kyōdan, acknowledged how the founder of his organization, Yasutani Haku'un, did indeed "foster strongly right-wing and anti-Semitic ideology during as well as after World War Two."[143] In his letter Zen master Hirata Seikō claimed that "Zen stimulated the development of a life-affirming culture imbued with a spirit of peace and compassion"[144] and the unity of Zen and the sword (*kenzen itchi*) pertained not to the "sword of death" but to the "sword of life," which symbolized the severing of all attachments, while acknowledging that "all too many Rinzai priests began to actively support the 'sword of death' mentality of the militarists."[145] In his response to Buitendijk's query, Harada Shōdō bemoaned Rinzai reluctance to reflect on war responsibility: "Particularly reprehensible is the lack of any official statement of remorse from the respective Rinzai Zen organizations."[146] Kōno Taitsū wrote in the first of two letters to Buitendijk that "unless we repent our past betrayal of the teachings of the Buddha and the Patriarchs, we Rinzai sect priests have no future as true Buddhists."[147]

At the institutional level, in response to the outside pressure (*gai'atsu*) exerted by Victoria and Buitendijk, Rinzai Zen leaders finally began to reflect publicly on the war. On September 27, 2001, the general assembly (*shūgikai*) of the Myōshinji branch of Rinzai Zen issued the "Declaration of the One Hundredth General Meeting of the Myoshinji School," which in September 2002 appeared in the newspaper *Chūgai Nippō*. The declaration included the following statement.

> We must remember that in the past our nation, under the banner of Sacred War, initiated a conflict that led to immense suffering and

> destruction both at home and abroad. The Myōshinji School sincerely regrets the fact that, in the prevailing mood of popular support for the war, it not only failed to oppose the fighting but actively cooperated in promoting it. That this conduct was in accordance with national policy at the time is no excuse. Myōshinji has reflected upon its actions and repents its past errors. On this basis, it pledges that in its continuing efforts to promote the Zen teachings and foster world peace it will fully respect the various lifestyles, value systems, beliefs, and religions of all the peoples of the world.[148]

In a resolution following on the heels of this declaration, Hosokawa Kei'itsu, secretary general of the Myōshinji branch, together with his staff in the secretary general's office, proclaimed, "As in the case of the School's response to the issue of Dōwa discrimination [against *burakumin*], however, it was only as a result of outside pressure that Myōshinji was finally able to acknowledge its past errors. With the war complicity issue, it took the publication of books like *Zen at War* to move the School to respond. It is truly regrettable that Myōshinji was unable for so long to 'turn its own light inward and illuminate itself' (*kaikō-henshō*)."[149] On February 21, 2003, the general assembly issued a peace declaration stressing human dignity and human rights and calling on Zen Buddhists, grounded in the first precept's admonition against harming, to work to resolve international conflicts through peaceful means without resorting to violence.[150] And on March 6, 2003, the Myōshinji organization as a whole issued an antiwar declaration:

> We are deeply saddened by the violation of human dignity resulting from the ongoing regional combat, civil strife, terrorist activity, and related reprisals and wars. We of the Myōshinji School earnestly desire that the various conflicts be resolved not through force but by peaceful means.
>
> The Buddha taught that hatred can never be overcome through hatred. We appeal to the world to recognize the nobility of following the Buddha's path of compassion and tolerance, and to join us in dedicating our best efforts to the promotion of eternal peace.[151]

Following up on these documents, on April 13, 2004, Myoshinji held a "Road to Peace Symposium" in Kyoto. Speakers included Ina Buitendijk; Hosokawa Kei'itsu; Nishimura Eshin, President of Hanazono College; Nishikata Giho Rōshi, abbot of the Myōshinji monastery; and Kōno Taitsū, who at that time was Zen master of the Shōfukuji monastery after serving as president of Hanazono College.

In his remarks Hosokawa noted how Zen priests resisted Kōno's 1995 appeal by claiming that it was too late to examine the Zen wartime record and that doing so would jeopardize the reputations of their teachers.[152] Nishimura reiterated the call for repentance and reform and advocated educating Japanese youth about peace.[153] In his short statement Nishikata echoed this emphasis on peace: "From the earliest times the history of the human race has been one of conflict and reconciliation. That does not mean, however, that this cycle needs to be attributed to some inescapable human karma or original sin. Indeed, it is only through deeply investigating human nature that a true way of living can emerge. I hope and pray that today's symposium will prove a milestone on the way toward achieving genuine peace."[154] Kōno summarized the events leading up to a 2002 apology by the head of the Myōshinji branch and stated, "Were it not for Ms. Buitendijk's letter, I greatly doubt whether the Myōshinji School would have gone so far as to issue its public apology. There was, in fact, no action from 1995, when I made my appeal, to 2002, when the School responded to Ms. Buitendijk."[155] While applauding Secretary General Hosokawa's letter of apology to Ms. Buitendijk as "fortunate," Kōno commented, "Nevertheless, I very much wonder to what extent the spirit of this letter has been taken to heart by the individuals who make up the Myōshinji School."[156]

Ichikawa would certainly applaud these apologies and a number of the points these Zen leaders make in their letters and declarations, particularly the acknowledgment of not only their war responsibility but also their past discrimination against *burakumin* and sufferers of Hansen's disease (leprosy), as well as their highlighting how institutional self-interest usually stands in tension with speaking out against the government. About the latter point Hosokawa writes, "It may also be claimed that if Myōshinji had not acted as it did, the organization could not have survived the war. This may indeed have been the inescapable choice that Myōshinji faced, and it is a troubling question that remains with us even today whether it would have been in the best interests of our followers to have applied standards we now know are correct to the situation during WWII and thereby invited Myōshinji's destruction."[157]

Ichikawa would also appreciate Kōno's argument that reluctance to criticize one's teachers and seniors is "a Confucian way of looking at things," and that "[a] Buddhist must have the independence of spirit to criticize misconduct no matter who does it, be it his teacher, the prime minister, or the emperor. Otherwise we're no different from the Aum Shinrikyō cult."[158] Seeming to concur with Kōno, Hosokawa wrote in his statement about the background of the Myōshinji apologies, "The repentance of past errors is neither an offense against the memory of our teachers nor a rejection of their character."[159] But with this wording it appears that Hosokawa is letting those teachers off the hook by not asking tough questions

about their character—their moral cultivation and values—in light of Buddhist ethics.

In particular, Ichikawa would, I assume, celebrate Kōno's prophetic voice from 1995 onward and skepticism as he questioned whether the spirit of Myōshinji's apology has been "taken to heart" by Rinzai priests. He would also appreciate a comment Kōno made in his introduction to Mizuta's book: "Now, over fifty years after the end of WWII, we are finally able to take an objective view of the events of the past. And yet, there is an atmosphere of ambiguity in Japan that leaves the door open to the repetition of past errors."[160] To their credit, however, in their letters and statements the Myōshinji leaders did consider how they might avoid being doomed to repeat past mistakes, and they began sketching a possible Zen social ethic, as Ichikawa had done several decades earlier as he reflected on his own war responsibility.

CHAPTER SIX

From Collaboration to Criticism

The Zen leaders who responded to Ina Buitendijk's letters and participated in the Road to Peace Symposium complemented their apologies with remarks about how Zen could promote peace and avoid mistakes in the future. In his letter to Buitendijk, Hirata Seikō calls on Zen Buddhists to follow the example of Pope John Paul II's apology to Jews and begin "sincerely acknowledging the errors resulting from our sword-of-death leanings in the past, reaffirming our commitment to training and awakening, and standing firm in the true spirit of Zen Buddhism as we work to attain world peace and genuine compassion toward all beings."[1] He looks in particular to ongoing "spiritual exchange" between Buddhist and Christian monastics as providing "fruitful new directions toward the realization of peace and harmony in the world,"[2] though he does not indicate how, exactly, spiritual exchange would make a significant contribution to preventing war.

Kubota Jiun, in his response to Buitendijk, offers a focus for Zen ethical analysis: "The ultimate roots of these wars lie in the ego-consciousness of human beings."[3] He does not, however, probe the "ultimate roots" of Zen masters' collaboration with those wars: presumably their own "ego-consciousness," a fact that collides head-on with pious claims about the degree to which Zen masters or the founders of Zen movements have transcended such consciousness. But he does offer a comment about Yasutani Haku'un, the founder of Sanbō Kyōdan, the Zen movement Kubota heads: "After all, it was his Dharma that we wished him to transmit to us; never have I aspired, therefore, to learn his ideological standpoint."[4] This statement prompts the question of the degree to which one's Dharma can be divorced from one's ideological standpoint. If we assume that Yasutani's—or any Zen master's—teaching can operate independent of his ideology, which his

disciple Kubota characterizes as "right-wing and anti-Semitic," then that Dharma, while perhaps having existential and religious import, has little or no bearing on his ethics, at least in relation to social and political issues. But is this the kind of Dharma that the Buddha realized? And does Sanbō Kyōdan, insofar as it is centered on Yasutani's Dharma, offer any method for avoiding future co-optation and formulating a critical social ethic? Kubota writes, "It is time for us to learn seriously from the experience of the past one hundred years and to take actions based on new wisdom for the twenty-first century."[5] Unfortunately, while issuing this call to action, he offers no specifics about this "new wisdom" and the "actions" that might be based on it. Similarly, the September 2001 Myōshinji declaration of war responsibility includes the line, "It will take time and effort to investigate the root causes of these errors and implement the reforms necessary to insure that they never happen again,"[6] but it offers no concrete specifics about those root causes or reforms.

In his "Resolution" about that declaration, Hosokawa Kei'itsu does get more specific. He writes, "War inevitably involves the indiscriminate taking of human life, whereas all who call themselves Buddhists must equally respect every form of life, human or otherwise. Ethical behavior for Buddhists, whether lay or ordained, is based upon the precept against the taking of life. We therefore cannot tolerate any approval of wartime killing, much less of the abhorrent crime of terrorism."[7] Hosokawa continues, "We monks of the Zen tradition must remain deeply conscious of the fact that we live only because of the sacrifice of the lives of many other beings. We must therefore do our best, in a spirit of compunction and gratitude, to practice 'life-liberating compassion' [*hōjō jihi*, the act of releasing birds, fish, and animals]."[8] But how far does this standpoint get us in the direction of ethics and decision making? What practical mileage can one get out of claims that we "must equally respect every form of life, human or otherwise"? Does that mean that a mosquito carrying eastern equine encephalitis has moral standing equal to that of the person to whom this insect might transmit the deadly disease? And if we "cannot tolerate any approval of wartime killing," is Hosokawa advocating radical pacifism, with all the problems that just-war theorists have pointed out about that stance?

Hosokawa does, however, offer suggestions for avoiding war. Noting that Zen clergy have "endeavored to collect the remains of the war dead, perform memorial services, and provide care and support for war orphans," he argues, "Important as such individual acts of conscience are, it is necessary that the Myōshinji organization as a whole develop concrete programs and become actively involved."[9] Specifically, "In times of war it is not easy to preach peace; we must therefore work during peacetime to prevent the outbreak of war. In order to do so, the various

administrative bodies of Myōshinji need to expand and fortify their educational programs for the clergy, temple families, and laypeople. Possible steps include the design of courses and educational materials on subjects like war and human rights, discrimination and human rights violations, Japan's wartime history, etc. Special lecturers might also be dispatched."[10] Hosokawa continues, "In my capacity as secretary general of the Myōshinji School, I will encourage education and strengthen local study groups so that the entire clergy can deal on equal terms with these issues."[11] One wonders, however, whether such programs will be established and, even if they are, whether they will include the kind of structural analysis and thoroughgoing criticism necessary to give Zen a prophetic voice that can "speak truth to power."

Hosokawa issues a call to his fellow Zen Buddhists in another statement, "On the Background of the Myōshinji Resolutions": "We must help sever the roots of terrorism, halt the impulse toward retaliation, and break the vicious cycle of hatred and intimidation."[12] And though he does not elaborate, he declares, "Now is the time for us to seek possibilities for action."[13] Yet he seems to pull the rug out from under such action, at least at the collective level: "We must keep in mind, of course, that such a declaration is merely a first step. We intend to pursue an administrative policy urging each member of our clergy to consider what he or she can do on an individual basis."[14] What about advocacy by his sect's leaders, or action on the part of the Myōshinji organization, an institution that Hosokawa's predecessors found easy to mobilize in the 1930s and 1940s? Can it not still be mobilized, albeit for more Buddhistically ethical ends?

Kōno Taitsū argues that religions need to display critical insight into conditions around them: "It is vital that, in the swiftly flowing stream of life, a society maintain somewhere a firm, unshakable spiritual tradition capable of observing the world's transitions with an eye both clear and calm."[15] He also claims that the Buddha's teachings stressed the "equality of all human beings irrespective of caste" and "peace and a reverence for life, based as they were on a penetrating realization of the fundamental equality of all living beings."[16] He emphasized this reverence for life in his earlier 1995 address at the memorial service for Emperor Hanazono and Nippō Sōshun, when he called on Buddhists not to "live according to worldly standards" and added, "For Buddhists, it is the True Dharma for which we must be willing to sacrifice everything. We must in no way serve, even indirectly, as accomplices to the killing of others. Though it may be said that the peace and affluence that Japan presently enjoys would not have been possible without the two million lives lost in the Pacific War, still we must have nothing to do with actions that sacrifice others for the benefit of oneself."[17] Aware of how his fellows were complicit in such actions, he also calls for "true repentance" and "true reform."[18]

In his answers to questions posed following his keynote address at the "Road to Peace Symposium," Kōno, too, emphasizes creating conditions for peace: "A vital lesson to draw from this is the importance of doing what we can to create good conditions and relationships, so that we might better be spared evil conditions and relationships."[19]

He emphasizes the importance of "equality in human rights and reverence for human life."[20] Citing the Zen "Repentance Verse,"[21] he advocates pacifism: "First we repent, and then we accept the teachings of the Buddha. Think of what we put in our mouths every day—our food all comes from things that had life. Taking that life, we use it to extend our own lives, and for that, Shakyamuni teaches, we must have a deep sense of repentance. Such repentance must underlie our promises to renounce war, to preserve peace, to never again fight or bear arms, to never again kill other human beings."[22] Along these lines, in response to another question, Kōno asserts, "Another thing that we Buddhists have is the precepts. Nowadays we tend to be rather equivocal about the precepts, but it's important that on a day-to-day basis we strive to maintain at least the five precepts."[23]

Though he would cast a skeptical eye on Kōno's pacifism, Ichikawa would applaud Kōno's advocacy of working to create "good conditions," honoring human rights, and preserving peace. Critical of his own, and his tradition's, wartime complicity and other ethical shortcomings, Ichikawa drew on resources in Zen and the broader Mahāyāna tradition to begin constructing a "contemporary" Buddhist social ethic. From the start, however, he recognized the challenges that the ambiguous status of ethics in Zen poses to this project. In his writings he cautions his readers about Zen rhetoric of transcending right and wrong, or good and evil, as seen in Sengcan's declaration, "If you wish to see it before your own eyes, have no fixed thoughts either for or against it. To set up what you like against what you dislike—this is the disease of the mind. . . . Try not to seek the true, only cease to cherish opinions. . . . As soon as you have right or wrong, confusion ensues, and Mind is lost,"[24] or as Linji tells his disciples, "There are people in every quarter who assert that the ten thousand practices of the six perfections (*pāramitā*) constitute the Buddha-dharma. But I say to you that they are merely methods of [spiritual] adornment and of carrying on the Buddha's work; they are not Buddha-dharma [itself]."[25] As a further example, Daitō Kokushi exclaims, "Buddha-mind does not practice good, does not create evil, and does not uphold the precepts,"[26] and Jakuan writes, "All actions of ignorant people, whether good or evil, are evil. All events in a dream, whether actual or imagined, are nonexistent."[27]

Despite these admonitions to transcend good and evil if not reject ethics altogether, in actual practice Zen and other forms of Buddhism cannot avoid social ethics. "No matter how much a Zen Buddhist lives from a transethical source, as

a social existence he will encounter, in the place of ethics, other individuals, collectives, society, and the state."[28] Moreover, "To make light of the mundane world (*chūkantei*) is to be negligent in accurately discerning the mundane."[29] And to be fully moral, one's encounter with others in society cannot be ad hoc, or simply rely on the mental states cultivated in Zen practice.

> Insofar as Buddhism lives and functions in the contemporary world, it must possess a contemporary ethic. It cannot exist without one. Buddhists cannot simply polish the wisdom of the peace of mind (*anjin*) and religious extrication (*gedatsu*) that transcend history and hence morality, for as people leading daily lives in contemporary societies, nation-states, and the world, Buddhists encounter and engage the moral problems that arise in the historical and social networks of interaction between human subjectivities, and in each situation they must make choices about their attitudes and actions.[30]

The most compelling reason *Japanese* Buddhists must reflect at greater length on ethics is the set of mistakes they made before and during the war. Ichikawa writes, "How do we grapple with those mistakes at present? We must address several questions: To avoid continuing or repeating those mistakes, what sort of subjective and objective conditions are necessary? What is it that impedes those conditions, and how do we overcome those impediments?"[31] That is to say, "To construct a Buddhist social ethic we must first establish a site and logic for purificatory self-reflection" on the "stumbling" of Buddhists and philosophers like Nishida Kitarō during the war.[32] To that end Ichikawa argues that all Buddhist ethicists must focus on at least five topics in postwar Japan: (1) the construction of an ethics of responsibility, (2) the logic of violence, (3) the logic and ethics of harmony and peace, (4) the problem of state power, and (5) the continuing issue of the imperial system and State Shinto.[33]

While cognizant of how difficult it might be for Zen to address these topics, Ichikawa discerns ethical resources in the Buddhist worldview that permeates Zen. In *Buddhists' Responsibility for the War*, he comments on seven constructs: (1) interrelational arising and emptiness "function to deny absolute isms, theories, and principles, including the teachings of the Buddha," and promote efforts to "penetrate history and form a flexible system that grows and breaks from convention through mutual criticism and the study of other religions, theories, and isms,"[34] (2) the Buddhist theory of cause and effect rejects any separate, fixed essence to things, including nationality and distinct ethnic or racial groups, and focuses on the specific historical conditions that have shaped groups of people,

(3) this theory of causality points to "the necessity and possibility of historical practice that establishes the subjective and objective conditions for the production of certain phenomena,"[35] (4) it also indicates that we are sustained through the sacrifices of others and the blessings we have received from them and from nature in history, and together with the Buddhist idea of non-attachment it points to a rejection of the "capitalist private-ownership system,"[36] (5) though the logic of *sokuhi* is "the logic of a mental state that is static, aesthetic, and contemplative," it can function as "the logic of a dynamics (*riki-gaku*) that operates in the topos of praxis that reforms the world,"[37] (6) the doctrine of transmigration establishes a bond between humans and other animals in nature by indicating that animals may be our ancestors and we may be reborn as animals ourselves, as reflected in the poem by Gyōgi (alternatively, Gyōki, 668–749), "Hearing a guinea fowl singing, I wonder whether it could be my father or mother";[38] the doctrine also "provides a metaphysical and experiential (*jikkan-teki*) basis for non-harming, non-violence, harmony, and peace" as well as a way to satisfy the desire for justice,[39] and (7) the idea that "all sentient beings have Buddha-nature" provides a metaphysical foundation for core moral principles (such as human equality, the dignity of individuals, and reverence for life), points to the fact that the emperor is equal to other citizens, and implies a kind of Buddhist naturalism that affirms the fundamental oneness between humans and other things in nature.[40]

With regard to the specific case of Zen, Ichikawa claims that despite the various facets of Zen he criticizes, the tradition does offer resources for constructing a social ethic. At the end of *Zen and Contemporary Thought* he mentions (1) iconoclasm and the negation of authoritarianism, (2) a worldview that sees all things as fundamentally the same (*banbutsu dōkon*, "the ten-thousand things [possessing] the same root"), (3) a spirit of autonomy and independence, (4) creative freedom, and (5) a spirit of self-negation and self-extrication.[41] In another essay he wonders whether anything is as free and radical as Zen with its path of "uninterrupted self-reformation" (*fudan no jiko-henkaku*).[42]

The Zen emphasis on according with things (*nin'nun*), as we have seen, gives rise to an accommodating, obedient stance (*junnō*) toward actuality and celebrates harmony (*wa* or *wagō*), especially insofar as Zen thinkers have conflated principles of inner spiritual life with ways of organizing outer social life, and natural order with sociopolitical order. In response to this accommodationist tendency, Ichikawa continually raises the question of how Zen might assimilate critical judgment into itself. He strives to find elements of criticism—as opposed to symbiosis and passive harmonizing—in Zen history. He looks to Zen maverick Ikkyū,[43] and lifts up Bankei's standpoint of "direct critique of the person" (*mi no ue no hihan*) as a way to criticize self and others in relation to ethical questions and the transethical.[44]

Ichikawa also claims that "Zen is not necessarily something that prescribes or produces the concrete *content* of our thought and daily lives. Rather, it offers an attitude for daily life. This attitude has been expressed by such phrases as 'becoming one' or [entering into] '*samadhi*' with received convention. The problem here is that of *what* we become one with and *what* we enter into *samadhi* with."[45] He continues, "One might reply that we become one with the specific situation in each and every time and place. But if that is what is entailed, what is different between that way of living and the life of other animals?"[46] Ichikawa replies that what distinguishes humans from other animals is that "more than living lives of instinctual intuition, humans live through intellectual analysis and synthesis, emotional and volitional evaluation, and decision making. In our social lives we constantly enter into situations that call for our volitional intellectuality (*ishi-teki chisei*) to discriminate and make choices."[47]

Aware of the dearth of social criticism in Zen, Ichikawa calls on his tradition to foster this "intellectuality" (*chisei*), which includes the ability to apply analytical reason, make distinctions, and criticize things. "To formulate effective first principles and on that basis give direction to our social praxis we need the intellect, not a kind of elite intuition that formerly directed actions in the face-to-face relations in medieval, village time,"[48] for "as the structure of problems becomes complex, more than intuition, it is the activity of analytical and synthetic experimental intellectuality that becomes necessary for grasping, elucidating, and solving problems."[49] Given how the doctrine of no-self has precluded notions of a self with rights and promoted self-sacrifice for the state, Ichikawa advocates a proper place in Zen ethics for the modern self, which he construes as steeped in this intellectuality. He argues that it is modern selves, alone or in solidarity, equipped with this sort of evaluative, discriminating consciousness (*kachifunbetsu ishiki*), not peace of mind, that produce social justice in actual sociopolitical situations.[50]

Such critical discernment can help Zen appropriate types of freedom that differ from lofty detachment. Ichikawa champions freedom *from* ethics, that is to say, freedom from existing mores, norms, conventions, and value systems, all of which possess a certain authority.[51] He writes, "*Freedom from morality* is the presupposition and foundation of the freedom to be ethical and moral, and it is the fountainhead of a new kind of knowing and acting. . . . It is such *freedom from morality* that could have transcended the Imperial Rescript on Education, *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai*, and 'the unity of rites and rule' (*saisei-itchi*)."[52]

Securing this freedom is the first step to forming a modern Zen ethical agent. "The subjectivity (*shutaisei*) necessary for Zen social ethics can be established [only] after the freedom to criticize the imperial system has been established in the gut (*hara*) and disposition of individual Zen Buddhists. . . . If we avoid the issue of

criticizing the imperial system, there is no way we can constitute that subject. If we skirt this problem, any talk of loving humankind, a world federation, or the construction of a buddha land runs the risk of self-deception."[53] Emphasizing that the people are sovereign, Ichikawa further argues that in order to resist right-wing terror by those who advocate elevating the emperor to his wartime divine status and restoring his sovereignty, "the coward's awareness of solidarity must be elevated to an awareness of mutual respect for life and to the will that feels outraged by and resists threats to life, and this will and the will to overcome the gangster atmosphere [of right-wing terrorism] need to coalesce concretely."[54] In another essay he describes this freedom with different wording: "In the place where we objectify and overcome both the vertical axis of *subjectivism* and the horizontal axis of group egoism is created a new form of the freedom of 'non-abiding.'"[55] This is freedom that transcends any "abiding" in or attachment to conventional social ethics, a freedom that preserves the critical distance necessary to avoid co-optation.

Ichikawa argues that the truly free person functions as another point of intersection: the "origin" (*genten*). Appropriating the mathematical term for the central point of a graph where the vertical and horizontal axes intersect, he states that the person as this "origin" can realize the tension between, on the one hand, horizontal human alienation due to power structures, sociopolitical systems, and customs, and its overcoming, which necessitates communal social praxis, and, on the other hand, the vertical alienation or suffering analyzed by Buddhism and its overcoming, individually and communally.[56] The overcoming of these two forms of alienation is found vertically in absolute, spiritual freedom (Linji's "make yourself master of every situation") and horizontally in relative freedom in society (Marx's call for people to become master of themselves). "In the place of the dynamic unity of these two types of freedom we confront the problem of Zen freedom and social justice. We should not negate the wisdom of the [religious] state of mind by virtue of which one lives freely in places that lack freedom, nor scorn the effort, while living in the contemporary culture of commercialism, to work as free from the logic of commercialism as possible—in Linji's terms, 'not getting confused by one's surroundings' (*kyōwaku o komūrazu*) and '[freely] availing oneself of one's surroundings' (*kyō ni noru*)."[57] This foundational "origin" is also the intersection of two ways of creating history: "The *fundamental problem* for the actualization of a Buddhist ethic is how we grasp the origin at the intersection of the axis of creating history suprahistorically and the axis of creating a people's history for the people by means of the people."[58] With this framework Ichikawa begins to sketch his "origin social ethic" (*genten shakai rinri*), his "origin humanism."[59]

In Mahāyāna fashion, Ichikawa sees freedom as directed by two types of aspirations or vows, particular (*betsugan*) and universal (*tsūgan*). The former denotes

"the aspiration by individuals or organizations to give something to their fatherland, society, or humankind through their occupation or occupational abilities."[60] The latter refers to unchanging desires for peace, freedom, and happiness,[61] as conveyed by the Fourfold Great Vow.[62] Unfortunately, though, with its aloof, aestheticized approach, Zen historically has focused on *how* one should be or do things, not on *what* one should do, nor on the goals to which one should direct one's actions in society.[63] Even enlightened Zen masters, while enjoying their aloof freedom, bear the karma of having to live in the midst of messy actualities. The true ethical praxis in Zen is not merely for them, as traditional Buddhist expressions would have it, "to moderate their radiance and [help in] the dusty world" (*wakō-dōjin*), to work "with ashes on their heads and dirt on their faces" (*kaitō-domen*) to liberate others, "to turn downward to save sentient beings" (*geke-shujō*), "to enter the marketplace with bliss-bestowing hands" (*nitten-suishu*), or "to illuminate each corner" (*ichigū o terasu*).[64] Rather, they must expand this traditional compassionate outreach beyond soteriology. Otherwise it may actually support injustice: "Insofar as compassion takes as its sole task the spiritual salvation or liberation of human beings, it has no essential connection to social justice. It is not impossible for the practice of compassion, in its promotion of the path of spiritual self-awakening, to contribute to the continuation if not exacerbation of social injustice by playing a conservative, reactionary role and cultivating a harmonizing, paternalistic ethic. . . . The practice of altruism on the basis of Buddhist teachings can contradict altruistic actions in terms of social ethics."[65] From Ichikawa's perspective, "Social justice is not a matter of 'non-abiding' (*mujū*) or 'no standpoint' (*mutachiba*). It is not some unprincipled, fluid shifting of standpoints. Rather, it entails a commitment to establishing a firm standpoint, and from there, guided by one's principles and standards, resisting and fighting. It is a standpoint that entails organizing and planning."[66]

Ichikawa does recognize, however, how compassion and "bodhisattva functioning" have gone beyond narrowly religious salvific activity. Buddhists have understood that if one aspires to liberate suffering beings, one should strategize about the provision of the conditions necessary for liberation. Dōgen acknowledges the importance of supportive conditions when he writes in *Zuimonki*, "From the outset, there is neither good nor evil in the human mind. Good and evil arise according to circumstances. . . . Thus if you meet good circumstances, your mind will become good and, if you are involved in bad circumstances, your mind will become bad. Don't think the mind is inherently bad. Just follow the circumstances."[67] Ichikawa sings the praises of several Buddhists who have worked to secure such "good circumstances": Empress Kōmyō (701–760) helped people suffering from rabies and established in 730 an asylum (*hidenin*) for orphans and the infirm as part of a system of free dispensaries (*seyakuin*), in effect the first hospitals in

Japan; Gyōgi orchestrated public works projects; Bankei offered moral guidance to the common people; and Ōbaku Zen priest Tetsugen (1630–1682) helped with famine relief in 1682.[68] In these figures Ichikawa sees a "discontinuous continuity" between the transmoral and moral dimensions of Buddhism.[69]

These compassionate acts express not only the "perfection of wisdom" but the "perfection of giving" (Skt. *dana-pāramitā*). Dōgen taught that monks still in training should remember to give to their neighbors. His *Zuimonki* includes an anecdote about how in response to the entreaties of a hungry person who had come begging for himself and his starving family Eisai gave the man a copper plate earmarked for use as a nimbus behind a statue of Yakushi (Skt. Bhaiṣajyaguru).[70] Ichikawa highlights five main themes in this story:

1. The confrontation between respect for traditional common sense and respect for life.
2. The need to make decisions and act on the basis of assessment of the urgency of circumstances.
3. Admonitions against the kind of Dharma-attachment (dogmatism) of getting stuck in thinking only within the fixed framework and parameters of Buddhist practice.
4. The fact that it is not that people exist to serve customs and common sense, but that customs and common sense exist to serve people.
5. The point made by Nicolai Berdyayev (1874–1948) about how the problem of one's own bread is a material problem, but the problem of other people's bread is a spiritual problem.[71]

Ichikawa also lifts up the anecdote in *Zuimonki* about how Eisai took a bolt of silk that had been donated to Kenninji and, rather than sell it to feed his monks, gave it away to a layman, and then explained to his disciples, "You all probably think what I did was wrong. But in my view, you have all assembled here with the determination to seek the Buddha Way. To miss a day's food, or even to starve to death, should not bother you. To help ordinary people when they are suffering from want of something will bring excellent benefits to each one of you."[72] Ichikawa comments that Eisai clearly discerned (1) the difference between the religious life of unmarried renunciates and the lives of people with occupations and families, (2) the difference between the Buddha's law (*buppō*) and the laws of the secular world (*sehō*), and (3) the need to nurture health and life as vehicles for practicing the way of compassion.[73] Reflecting on these stories, Ichikawa argues that "Buddhist social ethics, like those of Christianity, claim that those who carry the sin of karma (*zaigō*) and the stain of self-attachment can purify

themselves of karma and self-attachment by engaging in the praxis of loving their neighbor."[74]

Eight years after sketching his "origin humanism," Ichikawa elaborates his approach with the framework S.A.C.: *śūnya*-anarchism-communism.[75] He construes *śūnya* or emptiness as "the vertical foundation of both the subjectivity that engages in social revolution and, in terms of that subjectivity's basic choices, the humble and open spirit that has been purified from dogmatism, self-absolutism, and the will to power."[76] The purification of the will to power "amounts ultimately to negating, in the horizontal dimension, state power; politically, this constitutes anarchism. . . . Through the mediation of the reckoning of philosophical conscience (controlling desires), and by means of social-scientific discernment and praxis, one negates the capitalist system of private ownership and eliminates the social basis of the commodification of human labor power; economically, this amounts to communism."[77] In this scheme, *śūnya* is a vertical, existential freedom, whereas anarchism and communism pertain to horizontal freedom, and the "origin" is the point where these two dimensions of freedom intersect.[78]

Though over the course of his career Ichikawa outlined these several frameworks for constructive Zen ethics, unfortunately he never fleshed them out into a systematic ethic. Zen and the larger Mahāyāna tradition of which it is part do possess ethical resources for that project, and one may wonder whether those ethical resources functioned as a check on Imperial-Way Zen, restraining its participation in Japanese imperialism.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Absent Ethics, Present Ethics

Hovering over the historical record is the question of the extent to which Buddhist ethical constructs and values may have checked Imperial-Way Zen and at present provide resources for the kind of ethic that Myōshinji clerics and Ichikawa Hakugen deem necessary for Zen. One might look to the precepts, especially the first precept with its proscription of harming. Another possible brake on Buddhist nationalism is the doctrine of the bodhisattva's wise and compassionate efforts to liberate all people in the world. The Zen emphasis on negation of egotism and conventional mores seems to imply a critical if not iconoclastic stance that would steer Zen Buddhists clear of co-optation. And the cenobitic and eremitic lifestyles ostensibly at the core of Zen might be expected to foster detachment from if not rejection of nationalism, imperialism, and war.

So what role might the precepts, compassion, negation, and monastic detachment have played in imperial Japan? Did they moderate Imperial-Way Zen, holding it back from what might otherwise have been a more zealous and jingoistic stance? And to what extent might these facets of Buddhism provide a foundation for a new ethic that can immunize Zen from its proclivity to submit to the state?

Zen texts grant the precepts a central position in Zen life. The first fascicle of the *Rules of Purity for Zen Monasteries* (Ch. *Chanyuan qinggui*, J. *Zen'en shingi*) lifts up precepts as the starting point of Zen practice: "both meditation and the quest for the truth begin with receiving the precepts (*kairitsu isen*[1]). If one cannot abstain from error and avert evil, how can one become a Buddha or a patriarch?"[2] Japanese Rinzai Zen founder Eisai (1141–1215) quotes this line near the beginning of his *Treatise on Promoting Zen to Protect the Realm* (*Kōzen-gokokuron*), where he argues that Zen monks should follow both the 250 precepts in the

Dharmaguptaka-vinaya (J. *Shibunritsu*) and the ten major[3] and forty-eight minor bodhisattva precepts in the *Brahma Net Sūtra* (Ch. *Fanwang-jing*, J. *Bonmō-kyō*). Japanese Sōtō Zen founder Dōgen (1200–1253) argues in the "Receiving the Precepts" (*Jukai*) fascicle of *The Treasury of the True Dharma Eye* (*Shōbōgenzō*) that "the priority of the precepts (*kairitsu-isen*) is the Treasury of the True Dharma Eye."[4] For centuries Sōtō Zen monks have received the sixteen bodhisattva precepts (*jūroku jōkai*) administered by Dōgen, consisting of the refuges in the Three Jewels, the three pure precepts (*sanju-shōjō-kai*)—the observance of all rules that eradicate evils (*shōritsugi kai*), the commission of all things that are good (*shōzenbō kai*), and the liberation of all sentient beings (*shōshujō kai*)—and the ten major precepts from the *Brahma Net Sūtra*.[5] In *Virtuous Action for All People*, Suzuki Shōsan lifts up both precepts and compassion when he writes that "Buddhist practice is to observe the precepts strictly, never opposing the teaching of the Buddha and of the patriarchs; to banish the mind warped and twisted, to become of good mind . . . and to lead all people, uprightly and with compassion, to enlightenment."[6]

Given the myriad factors that have shaped the political stances of Zen over the centuries and the time that has elapsed since World War II, we cannot easily determine whether the precepts served to restrain Imperial-Way Zen. And to complicate matters further, it is important to note that there has never been a single, orthodox Zen interpretation or application of the precepts, and their importance varies across the different strands of the tradition. While Eisai and Dōgen both cite the *Rules of Purity for Zen Monasteries* in arguing for the priority of the precepts and advance the notion of "the unity of Zen and the precepts" (*Zenkai-itchi*), they focus on different sets of precepts and offer divergent views of the exact roles of the precepts. In Rinzai Zen after Eisai the precepts received less treatment and carried less weight than in the Sōtō tradition, and they are rarely mentioned by recent Japanese Zen writers who operate largely within a Rinzai framework, whether D. T. Suzuki, Ichikawa Hakugen, or Abe Masao. And even though Dōgen and other Sōtō Zen figures have placed a greater emphasis on the precepts, they have generally construed the precepts and the minutiae of Zen monastic life through the lens of "the unity of practice and realization" (*shushō-ittō*) as actions in which one can express one's buddha-nature, as opposed to resources for thinking through broader ethical issues. Moreover, in rituals that involve the precepts, Sōtō Zen has focused on the reception of the precepts, in funerals seen as conferring enlightenment, rather than on the actual observance of the precepts.[7]

Even if we assume that the precepts nevertheless played a role in shaping the behavior of individual monks and nuns across Zen history up through 1945, they did not receive the kind of social extrapolation that contemporary Engaged

Buddhists have given them and arguably did not function as the key determinant of Zen *social* stances.[8] That is to say, though recently the precepts have received a clear social expression in such formulations as the fourteen Tiep Hien precepts out of Vietnam,[9] it is not at all clear that historically they have played a significant role in shaping Japanese Zen social ethics or determining specific sociopolitical positions of Zen figures and institutions. Rather, in addition to their central place in ordinations and funerals, with all the economic and political dimensions thereof, precepts have primarily functioned in concert with monastic codes to promote self-restraint and harmony in the monastic context, as opposed to being conceptualized and used by historical Zen figures as templates for social ethics.

One might retort that the first precept and broader Buddhist advocacy of non-violence must have tempered Zen support for the war. Indeed, the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* (J. *fu-sesshō*)—the avoidance of harming or killing sentient beings—figures prominently in the various strands of Buddhism. When expressed in the form of a vow, the first precept is usually rendered, "I vow to refrain from harming." In the *Dhammapada* the historical Buddha purportedly said,

> All are afraid of the rod.
> Of death all are afraid.
> Having made oneself the example,
> One should neither slay nor cause to slay.[10]

These prohibitions did not, however, lead Buddhism to a pacifist rejection of violence or any sort of carefully crafted just-war theory. Rather, as I have argued elsewhere,[11] Buddhist history is full of episodes that stand in clear tension with the precepts' injunction against violence, and a number of Buddhist texts, including those from the ostensibly compassionate Mahāyāna tradition, have even outlined scenarios of justifiable violence. The *Upāyakauśalya-sūtra* recounts how in a past life the Buddha killed a man to keep him from killing others; the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* relates that the historical Buddha once declared that in an earlier life he had killed several brahmins about to slander the Dharma and thereby spared them the retribution that would have followed from their actions.[12] That sutra also advances the argument that there are cases when one must ignore Buddhist precepts against violence and take up arms to protect the Dharma. One passage reads, "Men of devout faith, defenders of the True Dharma, need not observe the five precepts or practice the rules of proper behavior. Rather they should carry knives and swords, bows and arrows, prongs and lances."[13] In Japan, Nichiren devoted sections of his *Establishment of the Correct [Teaching] for the Protection of the Realm* (*Risshō-ankoku-ron*, 1260) to discussing sutras that could justify violence in response to

"heretics" like Hōnen.[14] Several hundred years later, Shin Buddhist leader Rennyo exhorted his followers to take up arms and fight if not die "in battle for the sake of Buddhism."[15] In the twentieth century, Imperial-Way Buddhists echoed such legitimizations of violence. As Ichikawa, Brian Victoria, and I have sketched, they justified the Fifteen-Year War as, among other things, destroying falsehood and evil; serving to defend the Dharma (in part by protecting the state that defends the Dharma); offering a chance for Japanese to repay their debt to the Buddha, emperor, or state through military service; and embodying the compassionate aspiration to liberate Asians from Western imperialism.[16]

Ichikawa argued that these justifications of violence should come as no surprise, given such lines in Mahāyāna texts as "To observe the Hinayana precepts is to break the Mahāyāna precepts" and "Not killing ought to be seen as a violation of the precepts,"[17] and the apparent legitimation of violence in koans about how Juzhi cut off the finger of an acolyte and Nanquan cut a cat in half.[18] In 1942 Zen master Sawaki Kōdō (1880–1965) wrote, "It is just to punish those who disturb the public order. Whether one kills or does not kill, the precept forbidding killing [is preserved]. It is the precept forbidding killing that wields the sword. It is this precept that delivers the bomb. It is for this reason that you must seek to study and practice this precept."[19] Ichikawa retorts, "Did all bomber pilots possess Zen eyes? Where is the difference between the bombs dropped by practitioners of Zen and the bombs dropped by other officers?"[20] He also argues that while on the one hand Buddhism is ostensibly a path of no-conflict (*musō*), it clearly allows for violence.

> Through the mediation of the logic of "break and subdue" (*shakubuku*), "destroying falsehood and revealing truth" (*haja kenshō*), "killing one to give life to many" (*issatsu tashō*), and "the sword that kills people is the sword that gives life" (*setsu'nin-tō soku katsu'nin-ken*), the non-contentious, receptive attitude in Buddhism ultimately gave birth to a morality and peace of mind in which for the sake of a "just war" one obliterates the "private" and serves the "public" (*messhi-hōkō*). It was from this angle that many people interpreted Dōgen's statement that "to study the Buddha Way is to study the self and to study the self is to forget the self." No-self and peace of mind got fused with the justice of the war.[21]

Insofar as the precepts lend themselves to multiple interpretations and Buddhists permit the violation of precepts for the sake of compassion, we immediately confront a cluster of issues: How does one determine which acts of violence lead to greater awakening as opposed to greater suffering? Which Buddhists are equipped

to make this utilitarian calculation of the net increase or decrease in awakening (ultimate Buddhist "happiness")? In the case of Zen, which ascribes authority primarily to the enlightenment of awakened masters, many of whom justified Japanese aggression during the war, who other than Zen masters is qualified to judge the actions of those masters, and on what basis? Or should Buddhists reject violence, even in self-defense, and reject all justifications of violence, even those in core sutras?

Multiple interpretations are not limited to the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. Compassion as well occupies a central place in the popular imagination of a peaceful Buddhism, and one might wonder whether the nationalism of Imperial-Way Zen might have been more strident were it not for the compassion of Zen masters that we hear so much about in reigning idealized and ahistorical representations of Zen. In that discourse, modern Zen thinkers and contemporary Zen activists tend to situate compassion (Skt. *karuṇā*, J. *hi* or *jihi*) at or near the center of Zen. Throughout his writings, Abe Masao portrays the tradition as directed toward an awakening—to, or *of*, emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*)—that equips the awakened person with wisdom and compassion and motivates him or her to function compassionately through skillful means to liberate suffering beings.[22] Similarly, many Engaged Buddhists build their social ethics upon compassion, as reflected in the title of the first anthology of their writings, *The Path of Compassion*.[23]

This emphasis on compassion finds support from Mahāyāna sutras and Zen texts. The *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* celebrates a host of compassionate heroes:

> Of bodhisattvas there were thirty-two thousand, great spiritual heroes who were universally acclaimed. . . . They had crossed the terrifying abyss of the bad migrations, and yet they assumed reincarnation voluntarily in all migrations for the sake of disciplining living beings. Great Kings of medicine, understanding all the sicknesses of passions, they could apply the medicine of the Dharma appropriately. They were inexhaustible mines of limitless virtues, and they glorified innumerable buddha-fields with the splendor of these virtues. They conferred great benefit when seen, heard, or even approached.[24]

Zen "records" (Ch. *yulu*, J. *goroku*) echo the broader Mahāyāna celebration of compassion. In *The Record of Linji*, the young monk Linji thanks the head monk for the compassion he had expressed by sending Linji to question the master Huangbo.[25] Later in the text Dayu recognizes the compassion with which Huangbo received Linji's questions. To Linji's statement, "Three times I asked him just what the cardinal principle of the Buddha-dharma was and three times he hit me. I don't know

whether I was at fault or not," Dayu responds, "Huangbo is such a grandmother that he utterly exhausted himself with your troubles!"[26]

In their exposition of compassion, Zen Buddhists have claimed that their practice leads a person to the wisdom that—in the manner of "the one is none other than the many, and the many is none other than the one"—I am all "limitless sentient beings" and the limitless sentient beings are none other than I, and on this basis the person realizes that "the most public and extensive problem is the most private and intensive problem."[27] To Ichikawa, the key question here is that of how compassion emerges from wisdom. "When people advance the notion that 'compassion is the functioning of the body called wisdom,'[28] we must more rigorously ask, 'Why does compassion arise from the fundamental wisdom (*konponchi*) of *prajñā*?'"[29] Offering a partial answer to this question, Ichikawa argues that Zen is "deep in wisdom yet lacking in compassion"[30] and that "it is hard for great compassion for others as brothers and sisters (*dōbō-teki taihi*) to emerge from an aloofly seeking mind."[31]

In partial agreement with Ichikawa, I would argue that insofar as Zen Buddhists do in fact embody compassion, they have not necessarily attained it through wisdom, that is to say, through *zazen*, some sort of intuition, or a realization of emptiness as representatives like D. T. Suzuki and Abe have alleged. Skeptical of claims that an insight into emptiness—the lack of separate, enduring essence—automatically causes one to feel profoundly the suffering of others and to act reflexively to alleviate it, I would argue that whatever compassion Zen Buddhists have exhibited has in all likelihood been instilled less through such insight than through an array of messages conveyed by Zen religious life. Despite Zen rhetoric of not relying on "words and letters," the tradition is replete with texts and sermons promoting compassion, and life in the monks' hall (*sōdō*) includes frequent chanting of the Fourfold Great Vow, which begins with a commitment to liberate others and only then turns to eliminating one's own mental afflictions (*bonnō*). And despite rhetoric of not relying on anyone outside oneself (as conveyed by the oft-cited line in *The Record of Linji* about killing buddhas and patriarchs), veneration of, if not reliance on, the bodhisattva Kannon (Skt. Avalokiteśvara) is ubiquitous in Zen chanting: Kannon compassionately hears the travails of suffering human beings at the beginning of the *Heart Sūtra*, appears as a "great compassionate bodhisattva" in "The Names of the Ten Buddhas" (*Jūbutsu-myō*), and is celebrated in *The Life-Extending Ten-Phrase Kannon Sūtra* (*Enmei jikku kannon-gyō*), the "Chant in Praise of Kannon" (*Kannon wasan*), and, especially, the "sutra" dedicated to Kannon, the *Kannon-gyō* (chapter 25 of the *Lotus Sūtra*),[32] which includes the passage,

He of the true gaze, the pure gaze,
the gaze of great and encompassing wisdom,
the gaze of pity, the gaze of compassion—
constantly we implore him, constantly we look up in reverence.
His pure light, free of blemish,
is a sun of wisdom dispelling all darkness.
He can quell the wind and fire of misfortune
and everywhere bring light to the world.[33]

But separate from the issue of how compassion is acquired, how major of a role has it played in Zen social ethics? Ichikawa acknowledges that Zen has not always been totally lacking in compassion, for Zen figures have functioned religiously to help others extricate themselves from mental anguish and achieve peace of mind. But does this compassionate functioning play any significant role in ethics—individual or social—beyond the monastery? Ichikawa argues that "in the world of medieval Asia, Great Zen Functioning (*taiki-taiyū*) has usually existed in monasteries; at best it has happened in the 'crossroads,'[34] the world of the villages and mountain hamlets that take the home as the unit of production."[35] Moreover, "the impoverished straights of the lower folk were overlooked due to a fatalistic and transsecular detached insight (*taikan*)," not unlike the detachment of Diogenes.[36] The detached freedom of Zen masters with their lofty insight is possible only on the basis of material disinterestedness, and the "spiritual freedom here is completely unrelated to the freedom that creates human history and redraws the world's maps."[37]

Ichikawa may be on to something, for in the midst of Japanese militarism, ostensibly awakened Zen masters did take parochial political stances that seem in stark tension with, for example, the commitment expressed in the Fourfold Great Vow "to liberate sentient beings, however innumerable." But is compassion something that by itself would, if genuinely cultivated and embodied by Buddhists, militate against such political stances? That is to say, we must consider whether compassion is a social-ethical category with any specificity, whether it legislates against stances that may appear to certain contemporary eyes "feudal" or "co-opted."

One might argue that Zen compassion concerns how a Zen master works with disciples in the monastery, not his or her political stances and actions in society, and therefore operates soteriologically without broader moral relevance. It may very well have been compassion that was being expressed when Juzhi cut off the acolyte's finger and Nanquan cut the cat in half. Of course, those actions may never have occurred, but regardless of their historicity these anecdotes do convey a message about means and ends. Compassion may entail, as Kierkegaard put it,

a "teleological suspension of the ethical" for the sake of higher-order religious objectives. Ichikawa appears to be reading compassion in this way when he writes, "Compassion is the conscious making of vows and the unconscious—as in according with things as they come (*nin'nun*)—offering of suggestions, invitations, and encouragement intended to motivate people to break through the fundamental existential contradictions that they have encountered and with which they now struggle, and hence compassion is not a matter of practicing justice and love for all humankind in the dimension of social humanism."[38] Abe Masao echoes this stance, construing compassion as something beyond morality: "transmoral compassionate activities and universal salvation are possible because they come spontaneously out of the unfathomable depth of Sunyata and because they are based on the great affirmation of things realized through wisdom."[39] Granted, one could argue that awakening as the telos of compassion is Zen's *summum bonum*, but even if awakening is the supreme good, does that necessarily mean that compassion in and of itself is "ethical" (as opposed to being a non-moral instrument to a moral good)? And even if awakening is a "good" in the sense of being something of supreme value, it is not necessarily something inherently ethical, something that falls properly in the arena of "ethics," which David Little and Sumner Twiss construe as dealing with the interpersonal problem of cooperation[40] and other ethicists view as the critique and formulation of principles for guiding actions that impact other people and their interests. Virtue ethicists might weigh in here and argue that awakening, a Buddhist analogue to Aristotle's *eudaimonia*, full human flourishing, is indeed an ethical category, but this would still leave the question of its bearing on *social* ethics.

Though Zen figures historically have never offered a systematic social ethic, they have not necessarily been silent on the social and political ramifications of the construct of compassion. As "engaged Buddhists" themselves, Musō Soseki, Hakuin, and Suzuki Shōsan may very well have believed that compassion entailed letting their audiences know it was in their best religious interest to accept their karmically determined lots in Japanese society and embody Confucian morality, that people flourish and society is most peaceful and harmonious when people know their place, accept social distinctions, and rest assured that eventually they will awaken to the buddha-nature shared by all people across class lines. It is likewise possible that the Zen masters who bought into and promulgated the imperial ideology in all its Confucian glory and justified attacking other countries did believe that the well-being of Asians, and by extension their political and religious liberation, would be served by what these masters perceived to be a compassionate use of force to liberate them from Western colonialism and ideologies that promoted the egoism so anathema to Zen. In postwar Japan, Ichikawa seems to have

believed he was revealing the true face of compassion when he drew on Marxist thought and biblical notions of justice to begin articulating a social ethic that would help Zen Buddhists find a critical, prophetic voice and avoid acquiescence in the future. And Engaged Buddhists around the world are now setting forth what they regard as authentic formulations of compassion in conjunction with Western notions of equality, human rights, and democracy.

Given the various social stances and political actions that have been taken in the name of compassion, perhaps we are compelled to conclude that while this construct conveys the message that Zen Buddhists should help others, it offers few specifics. That is to say, perhaps it would be best to view compassion as a kind of "theological virtue," which, like the traditional Christian theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity (or love),[41] orients a Zen Buddhist's feeling and volition but leaves a void insofar as the construct of compassion gives little specific guidance, especially when one dives into the chaotic, complex, and murky waters of politics, nationalism, and international relations. Without critical reflection on, for example, self-interest, power, ideology, and sociopolitical suffering in light of core Buddhist moral values—that is to say, unless Zen Buddhists construct a systematic and rigorous social ethic—it will be possible for self-interest and moral stances divergent from core Buddhist values to fill the void and grant compassion the specificity it lacks.

In addition to precepts and compassion, Zen negation may strike observers as a possible check on fervent nationalism and as a valuable resource for finding a Zen "prophetic voice." Zen figures like Ikkyū reportedly negated social convention and conventional ethics.[42] They are said to have dealt loud shouts and firm blows of the Zen staff to hypocrites, the powerful, and the egotistical. To Ichikawa, however, the negation about which so many Zen representatives speak is overwhelmingly internal. In response to D. T. Suzuki's depiction of Zen as absolutely negating good and evil, affirmation and negation, and truth and falsehood, Ichikawa writes, "This 'negation' has nothing to do with negating Japan's [possibly] arming itself with nuclear weapons or dispatching Self-Defense Forces overseas, for the absolute negation [of which Suzuki speaks] is a purely internal 'spiritual fact.'"[43]

Specifically, this negation is of the autonomous, critical self. Though once again slipping into broad generalization, Ichikawa writes,

> One distinguishing characteristic of Asia . . . is the lack of maturation of any individual self-consciousness. This tendency was deepened by the spirit of no-self and non-contention in Laozi and Buddhism. And with Confucian ethics in the background it was concretized in the maxims in the Seventeen-Article Constitution, "Harmony is to be

> valued" and "To turn away from that which is private, and to set our faces toward that which is public—this is the path of a minister." With such connotations as serve (*saburau*) or wait upon a person (*haberu*), "*samurai*," another word for *bushi*, falls into this ideology of turning away from the private and directing oneself to the public. In this arena the individual self has no place.[44]

Looking across Buddhist history, Ichikawa comments, "The Buddhist philosophy and ethic of no-self developed not in the direction of respect for the dignity of the individual but in the direction of protecting the structures of totalitarian societies."[45]

Ichikawa further argues that insofar as Buddhism negates the individual self with its foundational will to live, respect for life gets undermined as well.

> Accordingly, the fact that there is no place for the individual self—in other words, [the fact of] nothingness (*mu*)—means that there is no basis for respect for life. Where is the respect for life in the Imperial Rescript on Education? There's no standpoint of justice and conscience from which one can recognize and value the demand, and right, to live individual lives. There's no foothold for individual conscience that can protest war, which is none other than mass killing by state power. People are taught, "It is the duty of the subject, born in this imperial land, to be loyal to his sovereign even to the point of sacrificing his life,"[46] and "The spirit that obliterates the ego and lives in the fundamental source presents itself as the heart that serves the public with righteousness and courage, the heart that sacrifices its body and repays [the debt owed to] the country."[47] From the beginning, Zen Buddhism has rejected the individual person and conscience as delusory. And the modern self that was first advanced by Descartes is, of course, seen as delusory, too.[48]

The political ramifications of this have been clear in modern Japanese history: "never in this country did resistance to death . . . come to constitute a tradition. This spiritual ambience is seen in the way that Japanese assimilated Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent *resistance* as a creed of non-resistance. The rejection of confrontation and the glorification of war are two sides of a coin, as are intolerance toward antiwar and liberationist stances and the tolerance of state power."[49] And reflecting on his own stance during the war, Ichikawa writes, "Wrapped up in the logic and ethic of 'no-self' that was forced on us or we embraced on our own, we served the public (*hōkō*) in dedicating ourselves to the murky *self-attachment* and *attachment to the self's [desired] objects* on the part of *kokutai* Shinto and state

power."[50] In other words, "The doctrine of no-self provided no basis for establishing the autonomy of the individual human personality. . . . It offered no principles analogous to natural law that could serve as a foundation for modern [formulations of] human rights and justice."[51]

Even if we grant the limitations of the first precept, compassion, and negation, we might still assume that Imperial-Way Zen had to have been restrained by iconoclastic monks who tear up sutras, trickster hermits who descend from mountain huts to play with children, and enlightened sages who see through the egotism rampant in secular life. Certainly such adepts resisted militarism, for Zen cenobitic and eremitic life removes monks and nuns from society, liberates them from self-interest, and equips them with critical if not prophetic eyes.

Although Zen monastic life does convey and reinforce a constellation of values, a number of them diverge from these popular images.[52] An inventory of Rinzai Zen reveals the centrality of (1) simplicity, insofar as in the traditional pattern supplicant monks arrive at the gate of the training hall (*sōdō*) with only robes, bowls, a razor, straw sandals, a straw hat, and several other possessions,[53] (2) thrift, the commitment to wasting nothing and using things at one's disposal as much as possible without throwing them away (*mono no shō o tsukusu*), as seen in the strict limitation of water for brushing teeth and washing faces, the ideal of scavenging scraps to make robes, and ritualized *oryōki* (three bowl) meals, in which all food is eaten or given to animals (and "hungry ghosts," *gaki*) around the monastery and bowls are washed with tea that is usually then drunk, (3) manual labor, done as work practice (*samu* or *fushin*), (4) diligence in personal application to practice, as reinforced, for example, by the chanting of Daitō Kokushi's "Last Admonition" (*Daitō-kokushi yuikai*), which closes with the refrain "be diligent, be diligent" (*bensen bensen*), (5) perseverance, as conveyed by frequent exhortations by the master (*rōshi*) or meditation leader (*jikijitsu*) to push through pain in retreats (*sesshin*), rhetoric about sitting *zazen* even if one dies while doing so (*shinu kakugo de zazen o kumu*), and advocacy of solitary "night sitting" (*yaza*), (6) humility, as embodied, for example, in ritualized bowing, (7) penitent self-criticism, as conveyed by the "Repentance Verse" (*Sange mon*): "All the evil karmic acts ever committed by me since long ago on account of greed, ill-will, and ignorance, which have no beginning, born of my body, mouth, and thought—I now make full open confession of them,"[54] (8) deference and obedience, as seen in monks' submission to the strict and often challenging directives of the meditation leader, the master, the abbot (*kanchō*), and administrators in head temples, and (9) respect, expressed through honorific forms of addressing those superiors. We can safely argue that these values, promoting smooth and ordered monastic activities, function in effect as part of the regulatory system established by monastic codes such as the *Rules*

of Purity for Zen Monasteries, *Rules of Purity for Eiheiji* (*Eihei shingi*), and *Rinsenji Code* (*Rinsen kakun*). They also advance a de facto social ethic consisting of humility, obedience, and respect toward superiors in a social hierarchy, a value system evident during the early Shōwa period but contrary to the image of iconoclastic monks and trickster hermits.

Clearly there is a discrepancy between the portrayal of Buddhism as a religion of non-violence, compassion, negation, and political detachment and the actual historical record, between popular images of peacefully detached monks and belligerently mobilized Imperial-Way Zen. Scholars have recently pointed out how much of the modern Japanese discourse about "Zen," and by extension much of what we read in English about "Zen," bears traces of conditions at the time of the formulation of that discourse in the late nineteenth century. At that time, as we saw in chapter one, Japanese Buddhists were recovering from persecution caused by policies aimed at creating a new political order based on Shinto, or more precisely, on a new formulation of "Shinto." After being denounced for supposed degeneration and parasitism on Japanese society, Buddhists in Meiji Japan were attempting to portray the tradition as a constructive social force and essential component of Japanese culture, all the while criticizing Christianity.

On the international front, Japanese Buddhists were formulating arguments to the effect that Buddhism was a world religion, just as Japan as a whole was attempting to construct itself as a world power.[55] One strategy for making Buddhism out to be a world religion is evident in the writings of such Zen missionaries as D. T. Suzuki. As Robert Sharf and others have pointed out, Suzuki attempted to represent Zen as having an underlying essence: a pure and immediate experience, a transego and transcultural apprehension of reality, a clear perception of truth that is beyond all cultural conditioning and particular religious systems.[56]

This emphasis on experience was not unique to Suzuki's discourse on Zen. Suzuki and other Japanese intellectuals were aware of the attacks on religion in the West since the Reformation and the Enlightenment. They were influenced by William James and other Western thinkers who were attempting to defend religion by taking their last stand in the subjective inner sanctum of religious experience after conceding points about rituals, clerics, institutions, and theological systems that stood in tension with reason and empirical verification. Along these lines Suzuki often claimed that Zen is not a religion per se, but rather something universal at the base of all religions. Interestingly, he represented this universal truth as being instantiated *only* in Japanese culture, and this discursive strategy has provided ready support for claims of Japanese cultural uniqueness and superiority.[57]

That Suzuki and other modern Japanese Buddhists attempted to privilege Buddhism should come as no surprise, for they faced the same Western imperialism by

which Chinese, Indians, and other Asians had been subjugated. In one respect the essentialist and exceptionalist moves in Zen circles were directed toward formulating a universal Zen that could hold its own in its encounter with Christianity and Western claims of religious and cultural superiority.

The divergence between representations of peaceful Buddhism and the actuality of Imperial-Way Zen derives in part from this type of Orientalist discourse, which permeated the transmission of Buddhism to the West. Since the nineteenth century, Buddhism and other "Oriental" religions have held the imaginations of disenchanted Westerners who have sought Shangri-la in the mystical "East," projecting their hopes for a supposedly unblemished, non-violent Orient to replace the religious warfare, inquisitions, and intolerance they had rejected in the biblical traditions. After centuries of belligerent Western imperialism and colonialism, their Asian hosts and gurus have been more than willing to deliver up (invent, in some cases) those alternative religions, representing them partly in consonance with the Orientalist projections of their followers. By thus replicating the Orientalist moves of the disciples at their feet, these gurus have displayed what some have termed "secondary Orientalism"[58] or "reverse Orientalism."[59] For example, in *Zen and Japanese Culture*, D. T. Suzuki preaches an intuitive, non-violent Japan over against a rational, violent West, about which he writes, "The [Western] intellect presses the button, the whole city is destroyed, and hundreds of thousands of human souls are crushed ignominiously to the ground. All is done mechanically, logically, systematically, and the intellect is perfectly satisfied, perhaps even when it destroys itself together with its victims."[60] Oddly, he ascribes violence to the "intellect," not to irrational human instincts or the Three Poisons (ignorance, greed, and ill-will) and other mental defilements that Buddhists have regarded as the cause of violence.

The idealized, ahistorical, "mystical" representations of Zen and other Asian religions also derive from a main venue for those representations in the century since the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions: interfaith dialogue. In interfaith dialogue and the many English books on Zen it has spawned, the portrayal of "Zen" has been ahistorical, essentialist, and focused on religious experience and metaphysical doctrines as opposed to the rituals, popular beliefs, and institutions constitutive of the religious life of most Zen Buddhists in Japanese history.[61] (At the same time, formal interfaith dialogue has played a role in prodding modern Zen thinkers to begin thinking more rigorously and systematically about social ethics.)

Granting the issues surrounding the precepts, compassion, negation, and monastic values, as well as the facile binaries and ahistorical essentialism permeating Orientalist and Occidentalist discourses, what are Zen thinkers left with

to build a rigorous social ethic? What resources can they tap in their tradition? On what issues might their critical and constructive efforts focus? Let us turn to these questions, aware of the dangers in shifting from descriptive to prescriptive argumentation, at least to the extent of highlighting the steps that seem necessary for formulating the kind of Zen ethic that Ichikawa and the Myōshinji leaders themselves—not simply this scholar on the sidelines of Japanese Zen—argue their tradition needs.

At the outset it is important to point out that Japanese Zen has always had a social ethic. Though "social ethic" may conjure up images of social criticism and political activism directed toward the creation of a more just society and peaceful world, a lived social ethic can take at least three forms: (1) being a "good person" in society, as seen in efforts to be a law-abiding citizen, treat others kindly, or not burden others, (2) doing "good deeds" that benefit others, whether helping one's neighbor, giving to charity, or pursuing social welfare activities, and (3) engaging in critical analysis of causes of the problems to which good deeds respond and, on that basis, working to effect structural change through legal or extra-legal means. Zen Buddhists traditionally have pursued the first two forms of social ethics, so if we privilege the third over the first two forms we may fail to recognize the extent to which Zen has in fact had a social ethic and, despite notions that contemporary "Engaged Buddhism" is something new, has always been socially engaged. It has, among other things, performed rituals for the security of the realm and its leaders, functioned as an arm of the Tokugawa government, pursued social welfare activities in the Meiji and Taishō periods, and rallied around the state during the Fifteen-Year War.

Insofar as Zen leaders have recently expressed a desire to go beyond simply cultivating good people or doing good deeds and work for peace, they need to start—as Ichikawa argued—by giving some thought to how they might ensure that they will not be co-opted in the future. This reflection would presumably lead to consideration of how Zen can equip itself with a critical, "prophetic" stance. Some might lift up the recent apologies from Myōshinji leaders as a step in this direction, and Ichikawa would surely applaud their statements. It must be noted, however, that those apologies were prompted by external pressure—the several dozen letters written by Ina Buitendijk after she read *Zen at War*. Their apologies constitute a classic case of Japanese inertia being overcome by external pressure (*gai'atsu*), as acknowledged by Hosokawa Kei'itsu: "As in the case of the school's response to the Dōwa discrimination [against *burakumin*] . . . it was only as a result of outside pressure that Myōshinji was finally able to acknowledge its past errors. With the war complicity issue, it took the publication of books like *Zen at War* to move the school to respond."[62]

In cultivating a critical voice, Zen needs to learn not only how to reply to outside pressure but how to apply internal pressure to itself. Even though its ultimate target of criticism might be the state or powerful actors in Japanese society and beyond, the proximate target needs to be Zen itself. As the Myōshinji representatives argued, it is imperative for Zen Buddhists to clearly discern their past,[63] to see historical events *sono mama*, "just as they were." This discernment—accurate, authentic memory as a variety of wisdom[64]—is crucial for engaging in self-criticism, accepting responsibility, and avoiding future repetition of past mistakes. With this discernment Zen can respond to the questions Ina Buitendijk posed about Imperial-Way Zen in her report on the April 2004 "Road to Peace Symposium": "How could this happen? Do the rigors of Zen training leave no room for compassion? Does merging with the circumstances mean that you always go along with those in authority? Have we been too naïve and uncritical in believing what Japanese Zen masters told us?"[65]

To answer these questions adequately, Zen ethicists need to extend their critical gaze further, beyond the specifics of Imperial-Way Zen to the elite social circles in which Zen leaders have traditionally moved; to the tradition's symbiotic relationship with those in power; to its social embeddedness with its focus on performing funerals and memorial services for parishioners; to its acceptance and assimilation of conventional Confucian morality in lieu of formulating its own social ethic. Simply put, Zen ethicists cannot avoid grappling with the ways in which their religion provided "useful service" to Japanese rulers as "Buddhism for the protection of the realm" and in so doing seemingly violated basic Buddhist values and rendered themselves unwilling and unable to take critical stances toward political leaders, the state, or government policies, or toward the social, political, and economic status quo.[66] As I have argued in this book, it is this historical stance of institutions, much more than characteristics of Zen peace of mind or Zen connections to *bushidō*, that accounts for Imperial-Way Zen and the broader lack of rigorous moral criticism in Zen. Though in monasteries Zen figures may have spoken truth to ignorance, in Japanese society they have rarely spoken truth to power, and though Zen ethicists may not choose to go the route of liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez's "preferential option for the poor," they may find it productive to criticize traditional Zen's preferential option for the elite and the status quo.

This criticism would go a long way toward helping Japanese Zen thinkers keep one eye squarely on the actual historical record when expounding on doctrinal claims about how a bodhisattva attains wisdom and compassion by awakening to emptiness and then automatically and intuitively acts to liberate others. This would help remedy one other issue in discourse on Zen ethics: just as it is not always clear whether writers who make claims about what is the case "in Zen" are talking about some sort of ideal Zen in the abstract or the actual, concrete Zen

tradition(s), in much discourse on "ethics in Zen" it is not always clear whether writers are discussing something ideal and prescriptive or actual and descriptive. If done explicitly, sketching an ideal form of Zen is not necessarily a problem, but such discourse generally has not included treatment of *actual* Zen ethics, of how *actual* Zen has come up short, how certain things have obscured or distorted that ideal, and how current Zen Buddhists might put the theoretical ideal into practice. Looking closely at these issues might even lead Zen thinkers to reconsider their theoretical ideals, such as the idea that compassion naturally flows from one's awakening to emptiness, a claim that gains little support from the historical record of Imperial-Way Zen, unless we choose to limit compassion to a narrow soteriological arena. Through this intellectual labor Zen ethicists can grant their reflection the kind of rigor that was lacking in the past.

Critical discernment requires critical distance, and with all their rhetoric of overcoming subject-object distance and letting go of discrimination, Zen thinkers also need to think through how they can, in the framework of Zen, grant legitimacy to critical distance, analysis, and judgment, to what Ichikawa referred to as modern intellectuality (*chisei*). As part of this endeavor they need to take on the epistemological task of clarifying the relationship between "becoming one with things" (*narikiru*) and "seeing things just as they are" (*sono mama ni miru*), with the former implying no subject-object distinction and the latter implying the subject's clear discernment of the object in all of its particularity.

Once they have secured a place for critical distance and discernment, Zen ethicists can proceed to formulating explicit principles of criticism, which may very well diverge from the implicit principles already in operation. Ichikawa writes,

> We should be able to expect the law (Dharma) of Buddhism as a world religion, a religion of all humankind that transcends ethnic groups, to possess a perspective from which it can fundamentally criticize the logic of charismatic rule, which includes the sovereign's law as set forth in the [1889] Imperial Constitution, the Imperial Rescript on Education, and the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers. In this regard we should reflect back and examine the [conservative] attitude of Buddhists at the time of the Uchimura Kanzō lèse majesté incident.[67] Christianity has a standpoint from which one can affirm *resistance* to and *treason* against state power . . . but what about the concept of Dharma in Buddhism?[68]

What in the Dharma might constitute such a standpoint? What principles might Buddhism itself offer for critical leverage, as opposed to principles that critics of Zen nationalism might apply or impose from outside the tradition?

While it is easy—though often facile, anachronistic, and at times intellectually imperialist—to label certain Zen actions in history as "anti-democratic," "co-opted," or "fascist," insofar as these adjectives imply extra-Buddhist criteria the more constructive question is that of which Buddhist criteria, which of the more universal if not transcendent elements of Buddhism, might be deployed to evaluate Zen utterances and actions. Not that this is an easy question to answer. As a thoroughly embedded religion embracing *conventional* norms before and during the war, Japanese Zen has never systematically and rigorously formulated its ethical and political stances.[69] The core task for Zen ethicists is to clarify which core Buddhist values, which universal resources in the Mahāyāna tradition, they can most fruitfully employ as *Buddhist* (rather than extra-Buddhist) and *transcendent* (rather than conventional) criteria for assessing specific actions or broader socio-political arrangements.

Of course, Zen has been steeped in Confucianism for so long that Confucian virtues are now internal touchstones, and attempts to get back to some ostensibly "truer" or "purer" Buddhist ethical stance may strike some as a misguided call for Zen to stop being Zen and to judge itself on the basis of an abstract set of broader Buddhist principles—or reified Buddhist essence—floating above specific Buddhist traditions. But insofar as Zen leaders themselves have recently decried Zen's entanglement in Japanese imperialism with all of its Confucian coloring, it appears worth their while to examine critically Zen's Confucian orientation. And insofar as Zen ethicists are pursuing *Buddhist* ethics, they must clarify the specific Buddhist principles that should be deployed for critical assessment of actuality and for constructive thought about optimal societies. They might lift up *zazen* and *satori*, on the assumption that once people deepen their practice and are awakened they will "just know" what to criticize or what to do. Or they might lift up the first precept of non-harming. Or compassion.[70]

Some Zen thinkers have argued that meditative states and *satori* are the true basis of ethics. Hakuin wrote in his "Chant in Praise of Zazen," "Observing the precepts, repentance, and giving, the countless good deeds, and the way of right living all come from zazen. Thus one true samadhi extinguishes evils; it purifies karma, dissolving obstructions."[71] Abe Masao has argued that *satori*—or, as he was wont to put it, awakening to emptiness—generates wisdom and compassion in the awakened person, who then makes vows and engages in actions to liberate other sentient beings.[72] But even if we allow for the sake of the argument that Abe is right and that *satori*, equipped with wisdom and compassion, does in fact play a key role in a Zen master's working one on one with a disciple to liberate that person in a *religious* sense, how sufficient is it for prophetic *moral* critique, both of individuals and of society? Even D. T. Suzuki argued after the war that "by itself *satori* is unable to judge

the right and wrong of war."[73] And Zen teacher Bernie Glassman has argued that "even while possessing great realization, we still have our conditioning, our own particular characteristics, our own particular paths. Little of that changes overnight."[74]

Perhaps Zen thinkers can deploy compassion as the transcendent criterion. As I argued earlier, however, given that this primarily soteriological construct is devoid of specificity and in some respects morally neutral, it needs to be coupled with other principles. Perhaps non-harming can function as a transcendent criterion.[75] But, as mentioned above, to set this value up as a touchstone requires sustained theoretical reflection, for even if Zen ethicists were to agree that the first precept can provide a Buddhist criterion for evaluating such historical phenomena as Imperial-Way Zen, they would still be left with the task of clarifying (as much as possible, granting all the methodological challenges) whether it should be construed as an absolute, deontological prohibition that would point to radical pacifism, or as a flexible guideline that allows for self-defense, for killing that prevents greater killing (pre-emption), or for other exceptions that can be spelled out in a Buddhist "just-violence" theory.[76]

Clearly a challenge here to setting up a critical first principle is a characteristic of *satori*, compassion, the first precept, and such other core Buddhist constructs as indebtedness (*on*), no-soul, and interrelational arising: these doctrines lend themselves to multiple interpretations and, by extension, multiple ethical stances. They are ethically malleable and, historically, other, non-Buddhist values, concepts, and doctrines have colored the interpretations that Zen thinkers have given them. This malleability is evident, for example, when we compare how wartime Japanese Buddhists and contemporary Engaged Buddhists have interpreted the doctrines of indebtedness, no-soul, and interrelational arising. The former used these doctrines to advance an ethic of obligatory self-sacrifice for an increasingly hierarchical and totalitarian state, while the latter have used them to advance an ethic of egalitarian interrelationship in democratic communities inclusive of other species. Though tapping the same doctrines, the ethical reflection of early Shōwa Japanese Buddhists was highly influenced by the Confucian orientation of the traditional Japanese ethos and by the religious and political milieu of the early 1930s, while the values of contemporary Engaged Buddhists are saturated with extra-Buddhist notions of representative democracy, legal and political equality, human rights, animal rights, and sustainability.

A critical analysis of this malleability might include acknowledgment of one other issue that Zen leaders need to take into consideration as they begin to craft a rigorous Zen ethic: the extent to which basic elements of Zen lend themselves to ideological manipulation. "Emptying" the self also empties out resistance. Sweeping clear the mirror of the mind provides a useful tabula rasa for ideological inscription,

for constituting or reconstituting subjects as the political situation dictates. Peace of mind, a pacification in several respects, proves handy as a way to foster acquiescence and docility. In offering a path to inner freedom in which "necessity is none other than freedom," Zen may also lead people away from a commitment to the kind of political freedom through which they can criticize and resist the status quo. And when one has cultivated Zen's inner freedom, "every day is a good day," even when bombs are dropping and prisoners are getting tortured.[77] Further, the ideological and political ramifications of "according" with things—of the "accommodationism" promoted by Zen—go without saying. And when political actors are hard at work producing, reproducing (inculcating), and legitimating a nationalist ideology, the Zen conflation of the "is" and the "ought" serves the valorization of actuality. Moreover, as we have seen, the doctrine of karma has served as an ideological tool for justifying poverty. The leaders of Myōshinji seem to have followed Ichikawa's lead in becoming aware of these pitfalls and eager to secure critical leverage, and the *criticism* of reigning ideologies and Zen entanglement in them can function as the prolegomenon to the *construction* of a rigorous Zen social ethic. A worthwhile first step from criticism to construction might be for Zen ethicists to clarify resources in Zen that can be mobilized to help the tradition avoid co-optation and respond to dominant ideologies.[78]

The multivalency of Buddhist concepts and the ability to splice Confucianism and Western liberal thought onto them generate the question of whether *any* core components of Buddhism point inexorably to specific moral stances and preclude other, divergent, and perhaps even contesting stances. In posing this question I am not assuming there is a singular true or pure Buddhism nor that, even if there were such an essence, one should never develop Buddhist ethics through extra-Buddhist ideas. Bringing outside constructs and values to bear on the tradition is nothing novel, for it has occurred throughout Buddhist history. In East Asia, Zen Buddhists have assimilated Confucian, Daoist, and Shintō elements into their tradition, and with the exception of "Critical Buddhists" in Japan and a few other minority voices, no one has taken issue with this practice. Many Engaged Buddhists, reared in such traditions as Christianity and Judaism, have been shaped by an array of values, moral stances, and political philosophies they have brought to their practice of and reflections on Buddhism. It is worth considering, however, whether in their attempts to address specific moral issues they are coaxing out genuinely Buddhist ethical stances or are, consciously or otherwise, engaging in acts of eisegesis by looking selectively in Buddhists sources—religious experiences, texts, doctrines, practices, and institutions—to find support for the ethical and political stances they brought to their practice of Buddhism in the first place.[79] Simply put, they—and Zen thinkers in Japan—need to reflect on *how Buddhist*

their stances are, how true their ethical arguments are to Buddhist sources, textual or otherwise.[80] And they can grant their ethical argumentation added rigor by noting when they have incorporated extra-Buddhist ideas and then justifying that splice as congruent with Buddhism.

As I have argued elsewhere,[81] more than metaphysical, epistemological, or perceptive dimensions of Zen, the soteriological dimension as outlined in the Four Noble Truths—if expanded to encompass suffering in all its forms and developed through clarification of the connections between ordinary physical and emotional suffering and more narrowly defined existential or religious suffering (*duḥkha*)—provides a framework for a more systematic Zen ethic, for developing Zen ethics beyond issue-specific, "occasional" reflection and granting it a firm foundation for addressing a range of issues.[82] Specifically, insofar as Zen aims—ideally—at leading people out of suffering to awakening, the overarching principle or criterion for action is what values, practices, political stances, and institutions lead to the greatest net decrease in suffering or, positively put, the greatest net increase in awakening.[83] Although some Zen figures have argued that *satori* does not require any specific social, political, or economic conditions (a starving person and billionaire can equally wake up), and hence has little or nothing to do with social ethics and activism, a range of Buddhist texts have maintained that certain conditions promote or detract from awakening and the Buddha took the establishment or eradication of those conditions seriously.[84] To date, however, despite Dōgen's emphasis on "good conditions," virtually no Zen thinkers have engaged in rigorous analysis of what those conditions might be[85] or articulated a persuasive argument on a Zen basis for the intrinsic value of the alleviation of such social problems, separate from possible instrumental value of that alleviation relative to realizing *satori*.

If Zen can discern its past clearly, embrace critical analysis, formulate a set of explicit moral principles, and in this way lay a basis for both critical and constructive ethics, it can develop beyond the character D. T. Suzuki highlighted when he wrote that Zen is "extremely flexible in adapting itself to almost any philosophy and moral doctrine" and "may be found wedded to anarchism or fascism, communism or democracy, atheism or idealism, or any political or economic dogmatism."[86] As we have seen in this book, in the midst of Japan's expansionist imperialism Zen exhibited such flexibility in "adapting itself" and becoming "wedded" to the reigning imperial ideology. And for all its rhetoric about "not relying on words and letters" and functioning compassionately as a politically detached, iconoclastic religion, Zen failed to criticize ideologies and specific social and political arrangements that stood in tension with core Buddhist values.

Of course, a systematic, rigorous Zen ethic entails more than criticism. It needs to conceptualize what a Zen free from acquiescence would look like, what

sort of conditions in society and the world would most accord with Buddhist values, and what sort of steps would need to be taken to secure those conditions. Ichikawa began to sketch such a critical, systematic Zen social ethic while also striving to put it into practice, and it remains to be seen whether his fellow Zen Buddhists in Japan will follow his lead or rest content with their recent declarations of the importance of peace and human rights.

NOTES

Introduction

1. For the sake of expediency, I am using "nationalism" here inclusive of *kokka-shugi* (nationalism in the sense of identification with and allegiance to a sovereign country) and *minzoku-shugi* (nationalism in the sense of identification with and allegiance to an ethnic group). See chapter four for further discussion of "nationalism."
2. For an introduction to "State Shinto" (*kokka Shintō*) in English, see Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*.
3. Standouts in this regard are Futaba Kenkō, Nakano Kyōtoku, Kashiwahara Yūsen, Yoshida Kyū'ichi, Ishii Kōsei, Mizuta Zen'itsu, Shigaraki Takamaro, Ōnishi Osamu, Ienaga Saburō, Fukushima Kanryū, Ōki Michiyoshi, Sueki Fumihiko, Kiba Akeshi, Tsujimura Shinobu, Ōtani Ei'ichi, Eizawa Kōji, and Nibu Shōjun. See the bibliography for their writings on Buddhism and nationalism.
4. See Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan*; Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society*; and Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan*.
5. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*. In English translation, see Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*.
6. See Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism, 1862–1945*; Victoria, *Zen at War*; Victoria, *Zen War Stories*; Ives, "Ethical Pitfalls in Imperial Zen and Nishida Philosophy"; Ives, "The Mobilization of Doctrine"; and Ives, "Protect the Dharma, Protect the Country."
7. Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*.
8. Myōshinji is the head temple of one of the thirteen branches of Rinzai Zen in Japan.
9. *Ichikawa Hakugen chosaku-shū* (The collected writings of Ichikawa Hakugen, hereafter *IHC*) 3:15.
10. *IHC* 3:16.
11. *IHC* 3:15.
12. A *dhāraṇī* is a short phrase chanted in Buddhist practice and regarded by some practitioners as a magical formula.

13. *IHC* 3:16.
14. *IHC* 3:15.
15. *IHC* 3:16.
16. *IHC* 3:17. The three holidays (*sandaisetsu*) were New Year's (*shinnen*), National Foundation Day (*kigensetsu*), and the Emperor's Birthday (*tenchō-setsu*).
17. A central construct in the modern imperial ideology, *kokutai* is often translated as "national polity." The first character, *koku*, means realm or country, and in the compound *kokutai* it also connotes the nation in the sense of a unified group of people (the Japanese). The character *tai* connotes the body, which allows for a rendering of *kokutai* as the body politic. This character also connotes "essence," which has led some to translate *kokutai* as "national essence." Leslie Pincus writes that the characters can be rendered as "the body of the nation" and "the substance of the state" (*Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan*, 211 n. 3). In short, *kokutai* can be understood as the character or essence of Japan, a body politic constituted by familial relations and accompanying values. See chapter one for further discussion of this construct.
18. *IHC* 3:17.
19. Middle schools in the prewar educational system were roughly equivalent to present-day high schools.
20. *IHC* 3:18.
21. Nishimura Eshin, "Kaisetsu" (Commentary), in IHC 1:511.
22. *IHC* 2:198.
23. Hisamatsu (1889–1980) was also a professor of Buddhism at Kyoto University. During the war he started a Zen study-practice group that evolved into what is now called the F.A.S. Society. The abbreviation F.A.S. refers to awakening to the *F*ormless Self, standing in the standpoint of *a*ll humankind, and creating history *s*upra-historically. For further discussion of Hisamatsu, see Ives, "True Person, Formless Self: Lay Zen Master Hisamatsu Shin'ichi"; Ives, *Zen Awakening and Society*, 69–83; and Antinoff, *The Problem of the Human Person and the Resolution of that Problem in the Religio-Philosophical Thought of the Zen Master Shin'ichi Hisamatsu*.
24. Ogasawara (1888–1970), whose Buddhist ordination name was Shian, was a Shin (True Pure Land) priest on the faculty of Buddhist University (Bukkyō Daigaku) and an adjunct professor at Hanazono. He has been characterized as a Buddhist anarchist. For a treatment of his relationship with Ichikawa, see chapter ten of Yagi Yasutaka, *Ogasawara Shūjitsu/Noboru: Owari honzōgaku no keifu* (Ogasawara Shūjitsu and Ogasawara Noboru: In the lineage of the Owari study of medicinal herbs).
25. In 1935 Ichikawa translated Theodore Stcherbatsky's *The Central Conception of Buddhism*.
26. *IHC* 2:198. This translation of Dōgen is by Masunaga, *A Primer of Sōtō Zen*, 89, partially adapted.
27. The term *kyōdan* has been rendered "sectarian group," "parish organization," and, in Shin Buddhist circles, "church." In general, "*kyōdan*" designates the clerics and parishioners (*danka*) of an established Buddhist sect.
28. Nishimura, "Kaisetsu," 511.
29. According to one of Ichikawa's students, Nobuhara Tokiyuki, a Christian theologian who is chaplain and professor of theology at Keiwa College in Niigata.
30. Ichikawa Hiroshi, a professor of philosophy at Meiji University in Tokyo, is widely known for his work on Henri Bergson, phenomenology, and what he terms the philosophy of *mi* (embodied mind or "soul-flesh").

31. Ichikawa Hiroshi recounted this to the author in a conversation at Meiji University in 1993.
32. For further treatment of Ōsugi (1889–1923), see Marshall, trans., *The Autobiography of Ōsugi Sakae*.
33. *IHC* 3:18.
34. Ibid.
35. *IHC* 2:198.
36. *IHC* 2:199.
37. *IHC* 4:18.
38. A leftist journalist and politician, Hosokawa (1888–1962) was critical of Japanese foreign policy in the early Shōwa period. In the Yokohama Incident of 1942, authorities arrested him for one of his articles. He served as a member of the Communist Party in the House of Councilors from 1947 until the Red Purge in 1951.
39. Miki (1897–1945) was a Marxist philosopher who studied under Nishida at Kyoto University and then taught at Hōsei University. In part because of his close association with Marxist historian Hani Gorō (1901–1983), Miki was arrested in 1930 under the Public Order Preservation Law (*Chian iji hō*), and though he was released six months later and went on to participate in Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro's Shōwa Research Association (Shōwa Kenkyūkai), he was arrested again in March 1945 for allegedly hiding a communist. He died in prison six months later.
40. Ozaki (1901–1944) was a leftist journalist who wrote on China and was a member of the Shōwa Research Association. He was arrested for treason and executed in conjunction with the Sorge Incident, in which Richard Sorge, an adviser to the German embassy in Tokyo and the Far Eastern representative to the Comintern, was arrested in 1941 along with some Japanese who had been helping him spy for the USSR since the mid-1930s.
41. Sano (1892–1953) and Akamatsu (1894–1955) were activists who renounced their leftist views in the 1930s. After serving as a representative to the Comintern from 1923 to 1925, Sano was arrested in Shanghai in 1929 and, while in prison in 1933 rejected his leftist views. His was the first major case of *tenkō*, ideological apostasy, in wartime Japan.
42. *IHC* 3:14.
43. *IHC* 3:18–19.
44. *IHC* 4:18.
45. Ichikawa is deploying the mathematical term for the point of intersection of the x and y axes in a graph.
46. *IHC* 2:198.
47. *IHC* 4:18.
48. *IHC* 4:19.
49. A *kamidana*, "god shelf," is a small Shinto altar hung high up on the wall in a traditional Japanese home.
50. *IHC* 4:19.
51. According to his son Hiroshi.
52. Nishimura, "Kaisetsu," 511.
53. Nishimura, "Kaisetsu," 512. Tsurumi Shunsuke writes that while Ichikawa drew heavily from Marxist modes of criticism, he was not a Marxist ("Kaisetsu" [Commentary], in *IHC* 3:489).
54. Nishimura, "Kaisetsu," 512.

55. Ibid., 514.
56. Ishii views Ichikawa's wartime writings, with their ambiguity and occasional justifications of the emperor's war, as constituting a compromising stance that, like the stance of the Shōwa Research Society, theoretically supported the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, albeit less parochially than the theories advanced by ultranationalists did. Ishii, "Shūkyōsha no sensō sekinin," 237.
57. Nishimura, "Kaisetsu," 513.
58. *Daihōrin* (September 1942): 132, 139, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 171.
59. Ishii, "Shūkyōsha no sensō sekinin," 235.
60. *IHC* 4:19.
61. *IHC* 3:22. Ichikawa cites Ōya Sō'ichi's schema of five types of *tenkō*: (1) complete *tenkō*, in which one switches to an ideology opposite to one's own; (2) the *tenkō* of abandoning rigorous thinking about things; (3) camouflaged *tenkō*; (4) the *tenkō* of collapse; and (5) sabotage *tenkō* (*IHC* 3:38–39). See chapter one for further discussion of *tenkō*.
62. *IHC* 3:22–23. See chapter one for treatment of Seno'o.
63. *IHC* 4:133.
64. *IHC* 3:23.
65. Ichikawa, who detested the feudal character of the Zen sect, initially looked up to and was influenced by Suzuki, with his modern orientation, distinctive interpretation of Zen, and criticisms of wartime Buddhism and Shinto. Gradually, however, Ichikawa came to criticize Suzuki, for, as Ishii explains, "Suzuki exemplified those who focus [in their exposition of Zen] on elite individuals who have mastered Zen (*Zen no tatsujin*) as something transcendent of history, and he was a Meiji-style supporter of constitutional monarchy who viewed the emperor as the center of Japan. In contrast, Ichikawa took the position of ordinary-person Zen (*bonpu Zen*) and advanced arguments critical of the imperial system" (233).
66. Ishii, "Shūkyōsha no sensō sekinin," 242–243.
67. *IHC* 3:18. During the Occupation, Willoughby was head of the Civil Intelligence Section, directing counterintelligence under MacArthur.
68. Kainō (1908–1975) was a lawyer and legal scholar who played a key role in revising the judicial system and championing rights in postwar Japan.
69. *IHC* 3:18.
70. Ibid.
71. Ishii, "Shūkyōsha no sensō sekinin," 243.
72. Yagi, *Ogasawara Shūjitsu/Noboru*, 150.
73. According to Nishimura, who is a Zen priest and former professor and president of Hanazono University.
74. Yamaori Tetsuo, "Kaisetsu" (Commentary), *IHC* 4:502.
75. Ibid., 506.
76. Ibid., 506–507.
77. Ibid., 509.
78. Tsurumi, "Kaisetsu," 491. Another close acquaintance was Christian thinker Akaiwa Sakae (1903–1960), a student of Calvinism, Karl Barth's theology, and Rudolf Bultman's demythologizing of scripture, and an editor of the journal *Finger* (*Yubi*).
79. Tsurumi, "Kaisetsu," 491.
80. Ishii, "Shūkyōsha no sensō sekinin," 244–245.
81. *IHC* 4:127.

82. See chapter one.
83. *IHC* 4:127; English translation by Watson, *The Lotus Sutra*, 304, partially adapted here.
84. This line appears in the *Record of Linji* (*Linji-lu*).
85. A statement by Zen master Shidō Bunan (1603–1676).
86. *IHC* 4:127.
87. *IHC* 4:127–128.
88. *IHC* 4:128.
89. *IHC* 4:128–129.
90. Yamaori, "Kaisetsu," 502.
91. Nishimura, "Kaisetsu," 515–516.
92. Ichikawa Hiroshi, "Kaisetsu" (Commentary), *IHC* 2:481.
93. Nishimura, "Kaisetsu," 516.
94. Ichikawa Hiroshi, "Kaisetsu," 480.
95. Tsurumi, "Kaisetsu," 490.
96. Ibid., 492–493.

Chapter One: ***Useful Buddhism, 1868–1945***

1. Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History*, 199.
2. For a discussion of the various senses of "opening" in relation to "civilization" and the formerly "closed" character of not only Japan but Japanese Buddhism, see Ketelaar, "*Kaikyōron*," 25–28.
3. The Department of Divinity was established in 1868 and reformulated as the Ministry of Divinity (Jingishō) in August 1871.
4. Kōryū, "Senji-shūkyō sōdōin taisei" (The wartime system of mobilizing religions), in *Senjika no Bukkyō* (Buddhism during the war), ed. Nakano; Vol. 6 of *Nihon Kindai to Bukkyō* (Japan's modernity and Buddhism), 281–284.
5. Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, 4.
6. Fujii, "Nationalism and Japanese Buddhism in the Late Tokugawa Period and Early Meiji," 112.
7. Hardacre, *Shinto and the State*, 43. These concepts were disseminated by national evangelists (*kyōdō-shoku*, also translated as "doctrinal instructors") in the Great Teaching Promulgation Campaign from 1870 to 1884.
8. Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 247–262.
9. J. *jinja no gi wa kokka no sōshi nite*. Sakamoto, "The Structure of State Shinto," 272.
10. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 65.
11. Partly in response to criticisms by such Buddhists as Shimaji Mokurai (1838–1911), the Council of State (Dajōkan) in 1884 granted Buddhism a status equal to that of the movements in Sect Shinto. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 63–64.
12. Hardacre, "State and Religion in Japan," 283.
13. Ibid.
14. Sakamoto, "The Structure of State Shinto," 274–275.
15. Sakamoto writes, "Not only had the state greatly restricted shrines' religious scope, it had also offered precious little financial help" ("The Structure of State Shinto," 278).
16. Ibid., 282.
17. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 65.
18. Sakamoto writes, "The construction of the Meiji shrine, the enthronement rites and WWI all contributed to an enhancing of shrines' significance in early Taishō. The

fact remains, however, that the principle of shrines as 'sites for the performance of state ritual' had yet to gain a firm foothold either amongst the people or within government. The vast majority of shrines and their priests were in a pitiful state" ("The Structure of State Shinto," 277).

19. Ibid., 289.
20. Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, 5.
21. For a discussion of these and other "mnemonic sites," see Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, 9–18.
22. See Yamashita, "Confucianism and the Japanese State."
23. For the official English translation of the text, see Mullins et al., eds., *Religion and Society in Modern Japan*, 81. The Rescript was composed by Motofuda Eifu (1818–1891, also known as Motofuda Nagazane), who was the Confucian tutor to Emperor Meiji, and bureaucrat Inoue Kowashi (1844–1895). Approximately 595 book-length commentaries on the Rescript had been written by 1940, and according to Carol Gluck, "What began as an assertion of native values and social ethics became a civil morality: an index of loyalty and patriotism (*chūkun aikoku*) not only for the schools, but for wherever allegiance to the state was at ideological issue" (*Japan's Modern Myths*, 127).
24. Horio, *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan*, 68.
25. Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, 1.
26. Gellner, *Thought and Change*, 168.
27. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 45.
28. See Grapard, "Institution, Ritual, and Ideology."
29. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, 10.
30. Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*, 28. Though Hardacre's 1989 statement implies widespread destruction, she and other scholars have recently determined that actual attacks on Buddhist institutions were generally scattered, with coordinated, systematic persecution occurring only in several regions, such as Oki, Satsuma, and Mito.
31. Collcutt, "Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication," 152.
32. The guarantee of freedom of religion set forth in Article 28 covered belief but not practice: "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to the peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief."
33. See Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, chapter 4.
34. Sakurai Masashi, *Meiji shūkyōshi no kenkyū* (Studies of Meiji religious history) (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1971), 79–80, quoted in Staggs, "'Defend the Nation and Love the Truth': Inoue Enryō and the Revival of Meiji Buddhism," 253.
35. Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society*, 171.
36. This notion appeared in the fourth of the five articles in the 1868 Charter Oath (*Gokajō no seimon*): "Evil practices of the past shall be abandoned, and actions shall be based on international usage."
37. Satō, "Kindai nashonarizumu to Bukkyō: Nichirenshū to Shinshū o rei to shite" (Modern nationalism and Buddhism: The examples of the Nichiren and Shin sects), 345.
38. The compound *isshin* appears in the expression, *Meiji isshin*, and is usually translated as "restoration."
39. Mizutani Jinkai wrote *New Buddhism* (*Shin Bukkyō*) in 1888, and the following year Nakanishi Ushio wrote *Treatise on New Buddhism* (*Shin Bukkyō ron*). Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan*, 195.

40. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai* (Japanese Buddhist history: The modern period), 106.
41. This has also been translated as Buddhist Pure Believers Friends Association.
42. Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan*, 209.
43. Ketelaar, "*Kaikyōron*," 31.
44. By "Shin" I am referring to "True" (*shin*) Pure Land Buddhism (Jōdo-shinshū), which through the efforts of its founder Shinran (1173–1262) grew out of Pure Land Buddhism (Jōdo-shū).
45. Nishi Honganji is one of the two head temples of Shin Buddhism, and its branch of that tradition is referred to as Honpa Honganji. The other head temple of Shin Buddhism is Higashi Honganji, and its branch is referred to as Ōtani-ha.
46. Kleinen, "Nishi Hongan-ji and National Identity in Bakumatsu and Early Meiji Japan," 99.
47. Though their discourses overlapped considerably, each sect relied on certain stock constructs or resources. For example, the Nichiren sect relied on founder Nichiren's claims about the centrality of the *Lotus Sūtra* in achieving social and political goals, and Zen Buddhists lifted up the doctrines of no-self and the "death" of the egocentric self.
48. Especially by advocates of Kokugaku, "national learning," championed by Moto'ori Norinaga (1730–1801) and Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), who engaged in exegesis of early Japanese poetry and myths and formulated nativist arguments about Japanese culture.
49. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 132–133. For a detailed and authoritative study of these activities, see Yoshida Kyūichi, *Nihon kindai Bukkyō shakai shi kenkyū* (Studies of modern Japanese Buddhist social history).
50. Kiba, "The East Asian Missionary Work of Modern Japanese Buddhism," 4.
51. Fujii writes, "From 1868 to 1872, the government had planned to spread the concept of the emperor's sacredness through the preaching of Shinto priests, but it had turned out to be difficult for Shinto priests to make effective preaching, because in the Tokugawa period, most of the Shinto priests used not to preach Shinto teaching but only to practice Shinto rituals" ("Nationalism and Japanese Buddhism in the Late Tokugawa Period and Early Meiji," 113).
52. Chinese and Korean Buddhists, institutionally in decline but religiously in strict observance of Buddhist precepts, were perplexed by these Japanese Buddhists' stance that they were "neither monk nor layman" (*hisō hizoku*) and by the order the Japanese government had issued on April 25, 1872, that allowed Buddhist priests to eat meat, marry, grow out their hair, and wear secular clothing when not performing their religious duties (Kiba, "The East Asian Missionary Work of Modern Japanese Buddhism," 4). For analysis of the Meiji relaxation of the precepts, see Jaffe, *Neither Monk Nor Layman*. It is important to note that many "self-reflective, self-disciplined monks" (*jisei jikai sō*) like Pure Land priest Fukuda Gyōkai (1806–1888) resisted this order, for they saw it as undermining the "cleansing" (*isen*) and reformation of Buddhism (Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, 14).
53. The term *ishiki* can also be translated as consciousness or awareness.
54. Kiba, "The East Asian Missionary Work of Modern Japanese Buddhism," 2.
55. Ketelaar, "*Kaikyōron*," 34–35.
56. Ibid., 33–34.
57. Ibid., 35.
58. See Hur, "The Sōtō Sect and Japanese Military Imperialism in Korea."
59. In 1897 Honganji clerics even sailed to Hawai'i and the United States.

60. During the Sino-Japanese War, Sōtō chaplains, informed by the concept of the "equality of enemy and comrade" (*onshin byōdō*), performed funerals for not only Japanese but Chinese as well. The "equality of enemy and comrade" appears in the 33rd chapter of the *Yogācāra-bhūmi* (J. *Yugashiji ron*) and the 29th chapter of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāsya* (J. *Kusha ron*) (Kiba, "The East Asian Missionary Work of Modern Japanese Buddhism," 5). Kiba points out, however, that following the Russo-Japanese War "there were no large-scale Buddhist memorials in Japan for the dead Russian soldiers. Rather, Buddhists cited the idea of 'killing one to save many' (*issetsu tashō*)—the notion that the minority can be sacrificed to save the majority" ("The East Asian Missionary Work of Modern Japanese Buddhism," 6). Kiba cites the *Yogācāra-bhūmi* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (J. *Daihatsu nehan-gyō*) as sources of this notion.
61. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 82.
62. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 63.
63. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 165.
64. Satō, "Kindai nashonarizumu to Bukkyō," 345. In 1889 sectarian Buddhist leaders lobbied the Home Ministry for official recognition (*kōnin*) and a system that would clarify and designate "state-recognized religions."
65. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 6.
66. The character *ja* can also be rendered as sinister, unjust, or heretical. For an introduction to Inoue's thought, see Staggs, "'Defend the Nation and Love the Truth': Inoue Enryō and the Revival of Meiji Buddhism."
67. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 199.
68. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 97.
69. Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan*, 103.
70. Ibid., 117.
71. Satō, "Kindai nashonarizumu to Bukkyō," 346.
72. Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan*, 251. Yasutomi Shin'ya organizes Meiji Buddhist movements in three categories: (1) "Buddhism for the state," (2) "Buddhism for society" (as seen in the New Buddhism of the Buddhist Puritan Association), and (3) "Buddhism for the self," as seen in the "spiritualism" (*seishin-shugi*) of Kiyozawa Manshi (1863–1903), a Higashi Honganji cleric who tried to revive Shin Buddhist spirituality ("The Legacy of Meiji Shinshū," 59).
73. Kiba, "The East Asian Missionary Work of Modern Japanese Buddhism," 4.
74. For a discussion of this and related issues, see Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism."
75. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, 138.
76. Satō Hiro'o views Shin and Nichiren Buddhists as the vanguard in Meiji Buddhist support of the state ("Kindai nashonarizumu to Bukkyō," 346).
77. There were familial connections as well. The Higashi Honganji head abbot at the time of the Meiji Restoration was the nephew of the last Tokugawa shogun Keiki (Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 67).
78. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 68, 78. The militarist Yamagata faction of the Chōshū clan was connected closely to Nishi Honganji, and such militarists as Count Katsura, General Terauchi, and General Tanaka became friends with three sons of head abbot Ōtani Kōson (1850–1903): Kōzui (1876–1948), Kōmyō (1885–1961), and Son'yu (1886–1939) (ibid., 78).
79. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 74.
80. See Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, 74, 97, 125–129.
81. *Sanjō no kyōsoku hihan kenpakushō*.

82. Fujii, "Nationalism and Japanese Buddhism in the Late Tokugawa Period and Early Meiji," 114.
83. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 76.
84. Buddhism participated broadly in Taishō intellectual and cultural developments. The Buddhistic philosophy in Nishida Kitarō's *Zen no kenkyū* (An Inquiry into the Good) influenced Kurata Hyakuzō (1891–1943) and other writers; Nishida Tenkō (1872–1968) integrated Buddhist ideas and practices into his utopian movement, Ittōen; Yanagi Sōetsu (1889–1961), folk art historian and member of the Shirakaba School of literature and arts, worked the views of Pure Land thinker Ippen (1239–1289) into his religious, artistic, and political outlook; with his book, *Pilgrimage to Old Temples* (*Koji junrei*), Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960) instilled in many Japanese a renewed interest in Buddhism. Yoshida Kyūichi outlines these developments in his *Nihon no kindai-shakai to Bukkyō* (Modern Japanese society and Buddhism), as do the authors of several of the essays in Rimer, ed., *Culture and Identity*.
85. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 96. Nishi Honganji had set up a school for prison chaplains in 1900 (Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 89).
86. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 66.
87. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 53.
88. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 67. Though the seventy representatives voiced this support at the conference, Buddhists (especially from Higashi Honganji) and Christians later expressed concern about forced unification at the hands of the Home Ministry (Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 42).
89. Garon views this policy as part of the second of what he argues are the three stages of the religions policy (*shūkyō seisaku*) of the Japanese state from 1868 to 1945: "the assertion of an exclusive national creed, followed by passive toleration of existing religions, and finally the incorporation of the established religions into the ruling structure" (*Molding Japanese Minds*, 63).
90. Ibid., 67.
91. The Red Flag Incident (*akahata jiken*) refers to a melee that occurred between the police and some followers of anarchist Kōtoku Shūsui (1871–1911) who carried flags that read "anarchism" and "anarchist socialism" following a meeting in Tokyo to celebrate socialist Yamaguchi Koken (1883–1920) (Hunter, *Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History*, 175).
92. Yoshida, *Nihon kindai Bukkyō shakai shi kenkyū*, *ge*, 26.
93. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 40.
94. Yoshida, *Nihon kindai Bukkyō shakai shi kenkyū*, *ge*, 27.
95. *Burakumin* are the group of Japanese discriminated against for historically engaging in such occupations as butchering, tanning, leatherworking, collecting garbage, and handling corpses. For an overview of Japanese religions in relation to *burakumin*, see Shōji, "Japanese Religions and Discrimination against Buraku People."
96. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 80.
97. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 188.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid. Brian Victoria argues that the association was formed "to aid the government's war effort" (*Zen at War*, 62).
100. The thirteen sects are Kegon, Hossō, Ritsu, Tendai, Shingon, Jōdo, Yūzū-nenbutsu, Ji, Jōdo-shinshū, Nichiren, Rinzai, Sōtō, and Ōbaku.

101. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 187.
102. At this time Buddhist sects were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.
103. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 188–189.
104. Ibid., 189. While "Peace Preservation Law" is the commonly accepted translation of *Chian iji hō*, a more accurate rendering is "Public Order Preservation Law." Targeting anarchist and Marxist (primarily communist) groups, this law punished anyone who, as the law puts it, "has organized an association with the objective of altering the *kokutai* or the form of government or denying the system of private property, and anyone who has joined such an association with full knowledge of its object" (Mitchell, *Censorship in Imperial Japan*, 196–197).
105. I have translated *kokken* as "state's rights" to highlight Kashiwahara's contrast between *kokken* and *minken* (people's rights), but *kokken* can also be translated as sovereign rights, sovereignty, or state power.
106. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 189.
107. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 44. In 1927 the emperor appointed Ōtani Sonyu, brother of former Nishi Honganji abbot Kōzui, to the House of Peers (ibid.).
108. Founded in 1878 by William Booth in London, the Christian Salvation Army landed in Japan in 1895. Under the leadership of Yamamuro Gunpei (1872–1940), the Japanese branch commenced its activities in 1896 (Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 59–60).
109. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 190.
110. Ibid., 192.
111. Tanaka understood "nation" (*kuni* or, in compounds, *koku*) as encompassing land, the nation-state, and the *kokutai* (see introduction, note 17) (Ōtani Eiichi, "Buddhism and *kokutai* [National Polity] in Modern Japan," 82).
112. Ōtani, "Buddhism and *kokutai* (National Polity) in Modern Japan," 75. Ōtani inserts in parentheses three Nichirenist expressions for this unity of the Dharma and the nation: *hōkoku-myōgō* (the wondrous fusing of the Dharma and the nation), *ōbutsu-myōgō* (the wondrous fusing of the sovereign and the Buddha), and *risshō ankoku* (establishment of the correct [Dharma] and the pacification of the nation). For an analysis of Tanaka's interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, see Tanabe, "Tanaka Chigaku."
113. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 79.
114. Ōkawa Shūmei once wrote, "For Kita, the path to revolution was the supreme path of the Lotus Sūtra." Ōkawa Shūmei, "Kita Ikki-kun o omou" (Reflecting on Kita Ikki), in *Ōkawa Shūmei shū* (*The collected works of Ōkawa Shūmei*), ed. Hashikawa Bunzō (Tokyo, 1975), 358, quoted in Large, "Buddhism and Political Renovation in Prewar Japan," 36. For a study of Kita, see Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan*.
115. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 193.
116. Among other things, the Boshin Rescript declared, "It is now desired . . . that the shrines will be utilized in promoting the unification and administration of the country." This document served as a vehicle for renewed government efforts to utilize shrines to unify the nation and mitigate labor agitation and landlord-tenant conflicts (Hardacre, *Shintō and the State,* 38). After this rescript was issued, Ōtani Kōzui directed Nishi Honganji priests to use their sermons to disseminate the virtues it exalts (Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 90).
117. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 204.

118. In *Molding Japanese Minds*, Sheldon Garon translates *kyōka* as "moral suasion," and we can also render it as "edification."
119. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 204.
120. According to the arrest warrants, these individuals were apprehended for scheming "to overthrow the present organization of our county, and by a proletarian dictatorship to realize a communist society." See Mitchell, *Thought Control in Prewar Japan*, 84, cited in Marshall, *Academic Freedom and the Japanese Imperial University, 1868–1939*, 133.
121. Founded in August 1911, seven months after the twelve executions resulting from the High Treason Incident. See Tipton, *The Japanese Police State*.
122. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 205–206.
123. Anesaki (1873–1949) taught at Tokyo Imperial University and, briefly, at several universities in the United States. Many students of Japanese Buddhism have read his *History of Japanese Religion*.
124. Quoted in Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 68.
125. *IHC* 4:150.
126. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 249.
127. Commenting on new religions' ability to attract converts, Garon writes, "The anomie of the metropolis was also a factor, for a great many urban converts had recently arrived from the villages, yearning for a new sense of community and spirituality to replace the organized Buddhism left behind" (*Molding Japanese Minds*, 71).
128. According to Yamazaki Masakazu, "Marxism gave a sense of ideological solidarity to urbanites severed from their traditional communities" ("The Intellectual Community of the Showa Era," 254).
129. Garon, "State and Religion in Imperial Japan, 1912–1945," 286.
130. For a discussion of conflict between landlords and tenants, see Waswo, *Japanese Landlords*, chapter 5.
131. Umegaki, "Epilogue: National Identity, National Past, Nationalisms," 256.
132. Though Ōmoto-kyō fell in behind government policies on continental expansionism and, with its concerns about agricultural problems in the rural sector, "inclined toward a reform theory of a fascist state . . . , it also depended on an unorthodox myth challenging the emperor system" (Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 85). Some new religious groups fared better at this time, such as Reiyūkai, with its emphasis on family morality and emperor worship (ibid., 90), and Seichō no Ie, which backed colonization, the centrality of the *kokutai* (as a manifestation of the "true world"), and emperor worship (ibid., 86).
133. Sheldon Garon writes that Higashi Honganji viewed "Hitonomichi with particular enmity, having lost large numbers of adherents and even some priests to the upstart religion" (*Molding Japanese Minds*, 79).
134. Ibid., 68–69. Neither this bill nor the Religious Organizations Bill of 1929 was ratified.
135. Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society*, 174.
136. As soon as war with Russia was declared in 1904, Ōtani set up in Nishi Honganji an Emergency Bureau (Rinjibu), whose role, according to Ronald Anderson, was "1. to propagate Buddhism in the army; 2. to provide entertainment for the soldiers; 3. to console the wounded and take care of the dead; 4. to console the bereaved at home; 5. to aid in the sale of government bonds; 6. to propagandize national mobilization; and 7. to issue amulets to the soldiers for their protection" (*Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 184).

137. David Suzuki, *Crisis in Japanese Buddhism*, 18.
138. This expression can be directly translated as "literary weakness," implying effete literary pursuits at the expense of more worthy martial pursuits, and it is the pen name Ichikawa used for the article that brought him to the attention of the prewar Special Higher Police.
139. In an article in the September 1929 issue of *Daijō*, quoted in *IHC* 4:151.
140. In an article in the May 1930 issue of *Daijō*, quoted in *IHC* 4:154.
141. He argued this in *Shinajihan to kokumin no kakuyo* (The Manchurian Incident and national resolution), quoted in *IHC* 4:158.
142. Yoshida, *Nihon no kindai shakai to Bukkyō*, 253–254. Kimura (1881–1930) was a Buddhologist who trained under Takakusu Junichirō (1866–1945) at Tokyo Imperial University. Originally a Shin Buddhist, Takatsu (1893–1974) worked actively in the Communist Party. Hattori (1901–1956) was a historian and a member of Society of New People (Shinjinkai), a liberal political group started in 1918 by students in the faculty of law at Tokyo University. He wrote extensively on the history of capitalism in Japan.
143. This article was originally published in the June 1930 issue of *Chūō Bukkyō*. Ichikawa groups the arguments on both sides of the debate and sets forth his critique in four parts: (1) the standpoints of Marxism and religion, (2) Marxist praxis, (3) the Marxist negation of religion, and (4) the stance Buddhism and other religions should take in the future. See *IHC* 3:219–232.
144. Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 94.
145. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 222.
146. Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 94.
147. Sakai (1893–1974) started the socialist group the Society of Commoners (Heiminsha), and its newspaper, *Commoner* (*Heimin*), with Kōtoku Shūsui in 1903 and participated in the formation of the Japanese Communist Party in 1922.
148. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 223.
149. Quoted in Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 224.
150. This ideologically charged term has been rendered as "Yamato soul," "the soul of Japan," and "original Japanese spirit."
151. Quoted in editors' introduction, *Chūō Bukkyō* 18, no. 3 (March 1934): 4.
152. This journal is the predecessor of *Daijō Zen* (*Mahāyāna Zen*).
153. This group consisted of priests, sectarian leaders, Buddhologists, administrators of Buddhist educational institutions, military figures, government officials, and several others.
154. For an analysis of the arguments in those essays, see Ives, "The Mobilization of Doctrine."
155. See Hayashi Reihō, *Seno'o Girō to Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei* (Seno'o Girō and the Alliance of New Buddhist Youth); and Inagaki, *Kindai Bukkyō no henkakusha* (Reformers of modern Buddhism).
156. Quoted in Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 214.
157. Lai, "Seno'o Girō and the Dilemma of Modern Buddhism," 34.
158. Large, "Buddhism, Socialism and Protest in Prewar Japan," 63–64.
159. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 72.
160. Ibid.
161. Ibid., 70.
162. Ibid., 72–73.

163. Ibid., 101–102.
164. *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918–1945*, 260. Kasza continues, "The ease with which officials could control religious groups and use spiritual exhortations to advantage reflects the absence of a powerful independent religious institution in civil society. There was no religious group as weighty as the Catholic Church of interwar Italy or postwar Poland to sustain a vital sphere of autonomy from state control. Without comparable religious resistance, it was relatively easy for the Japanese state to penetrate the inner life of its subjects with its own spiritual doctrines" (260–261).
165. Garon*, Molding Japanese Minds*, 78.
166. The first crackdown took place in February 1921.
167. Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 97.
168. One *shaku*, or 0.994 feet.
169. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 61.
170. Ibid., 71. See note 132.
171. Ibid., 77.
172. Ibid.
173. Ibid., 72.
174. *Doroumi kōki*, which claimed that the world was created by fish swimming in a muddy ocean, contrary to the orthodox cosmogony in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* (Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 44, 100).
175. Ibid., 104. For a thorough discussion of these issues, see Ishikawa, "Nichiren ibunsakujo to kokushin kanjō" (The problem of deletions from Nichiren's writings and the invocation of national deities), 155–194; and Ōki, *Bukkyōsha no sensō sekinin: Nichirenshū no rekishi kaizan o tou* (Buddhists responsibility for the war: Interrogating the falsification of the history of Nichiren Shōshū).
176. Fujitani Toshio, "Shōwa zenki no Bukkyō" (Early Shōwa Buddhism), *Nihon Bukkyō shi* (The history of Japanese Buddhism), vol. III, *Kinsei/kindai* (Premodern/modern), 451.
177. Rogers and Rogers, "The Honganji: Guardian of the State (1868–1945)," 15.
178. Komoto, "Taishō/Shōwa-ki no kokka, kisei Bukkyō kyōdan, shūkyō undō" (The state, established Buddhist organizations, and religious movements in the Taishō and Shōwa periods), in *Nihon Bukkyō shi* (The history of Japanese Buddhism), vol. 9, *Taishō/Shōwa jidai* (The Taishō and Shōwa periods), 37; for further details see Shigaraki, "Shinshū ni okeru seiten sakujo mondai" (The problem of Shin scriptural deletions), 217–248.
179. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 105.
180. Ibid., 104. The statement by Shinran can be found in Hirota, trans., *The Collected Works of Shinran*, vol. 1, 289.
181. *IHC* 4:172.
182. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 60.
183. Tomomatsu (1895–1973) was a Pure Land (Jōdo) thinker, who criticized, among other things, the way temples handled their finances (Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 92).
184. Takagami (1894–1946) was a Shingi Shingon monk.
185. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 237.
186. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 230–233. Of course, one can interrogate this revitalization: Did Tomomatsu and Suzuki, with their emphasis on spirituality, specifically the "philosophy of death" and the "Japanese Spirit," create a counterdiscourse

that could provide critical leverage vis-à-vis the state, or did they lay a foundation for Buddhist alliances therewith? Did their subjectivism—unlike the more materialist and structural criticisms leveled by Seno'o—indirectly support nationalism by offering ways of accepting death passively and affirming the uniqueness and superiority of Japanese spirit?

187. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 248.
188. Writing in 1943, D. C. Holtom draws from a 1937 work, *Outline of Japanese Buddhism* (Tokyo: Nippon Bukkyō Rengōkai), in listing the following activities: "Today she [Buddhism] maintains an imposing array of social welfare activities, expressed in public dispensaries, hospitals, infirmaries, maternity houses, foundling homes, orphan asylums, nurseries, kindergartens, schools and homes for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the feeble-minded, libraries, information bureaus, social education institutions, settlement houses, continuation schools, reform schools, employment offices, asylums for the aged, offices for the legal protection of the poor and needy, cheap lodging houses, restaurants, loan offices, pawnbroker shops, co-operatives, prison chaplaincies, and guidance for former convicts" (*Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism*, 141).
189. For treatment of the issue of *tenkō*, see the three-volume study by Tsurumi Shunsuke et al., *Tenkō*; Steinhoff, *Tenkō: Ideology and Societal Integration in Prewar Japan*; Hoston, "Tenkō: Marxism & the National Question in Prewar Japan"; and Hoston, *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan*, chapter eight.
190. *Nihon Bukkyō jinmei jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist names) (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1992), 277.
191. Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 48–50. Later, however, Ōmori's efforts were more in line with the law. On New Year's Day of 1944 Ōmori established the Training Center for Pointing Directly to the Mind (Jikishin Dōjō) in Tokyo, which attracted conservative military officers of the Imperial Way faction of the Japanese military (ibid., 50). In September 1940 he founded the Japanism Youth Council (Nippon-shugi Seinen Kaigi), and in July 1944 he started working as an administrator of the (Imperial Rule) Assistance Manhood Group (Yokusan Sōnen Dan) (ibid., 60). After the war Ōmori continued to be active in right-wing groups, such as the East Wind Society (Tōfūkai) and the Restoration Movement (Ishin Undō), whose goals included creating an "ethnic state" (*minzoku kokka*) (ibid., 58).
192. Hayashiya Tomojirō and Shimakage Chikai, *Bukkyō no sensō-kan* (Buddhism's view of war) (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1937), 4, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 87.
193. Hayashiya and Shimakage, 7, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 87.
194. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 249.
195. Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*, 11.
196. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 84.
197. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 8.
198. Mukai, "Nihon fashizumuka no Bukkyō" (Buddhism under Japanese fascism), 281.
199. Okada, "Senji-shūkyō sōdōin taisei," 284.
200. Havens, *Valley of Darkness*, 12–13.
201. Barshay, *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan*, xviii.
202. This phrase is part of the introduction to the law. Quoted in Havens, *Valley of Darkness*, 12.
203. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 84.
204. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 138–139.

205. Ibid., 125–126.
206. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 249.
207. Okada, “Senji-shūkyō sōdōin taisei,” 285.
208. For a thorough analysis of Buddhist activities in Japanese colonies, see Nakano Kyōtoku, *Tennōsei kokka to shokuminchi dendō* (The imperial state and proselytization in the colonies).
209. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 65. Victoria notes that with this imperialist character, none of the missions survived the war.
210. Korean converts joined confraternities for Kannon worship and the requiting of blessings (*hō'on*, also translated as repayment of debt) (Hur, “The Sōtō Sect and Japanese Military Imperialism in Korea,” 110).
211. Ibid., 110–111.
212. One way Shin Buddhists promoted this was by placing “emperor tablets” (*tenpai*) on temple altars (Victoria, *Zen at War*, 64).
213. Brian Victoria claims that some priests were engaged in espionage as part of the “pacification,” giving to the Japanese military information about colonial subjects who opposed Japanese rule (*Zen at War*, 65).
214. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 172.
215. Hur, “The Sōtō Sect and Japanese Military Imperialism in Korea,” 119.
216. Ibid., 120.
217. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 109. Anderson writes that “Koa Gakuin was Nishi Honganji’s answer to government pressure to integrate its purposes and programs into those of the expansion movement” (ibid.). He also notes that one of the goals of the institute, and the broader missionary efforts of which it was part, was the cultivation of pan-Asianism in the Chinese (ibid., 151).
218. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 50.
219. Okada, “Senji-shūkyō sōdōin taisei,” 288.
220. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 252.
221. Mukai, “Nihon fashizumuka no Bukkyō,” 296.
222. *IHC* 3:10.
223. Hur, “The Sōtō Sect and Japanese Military Imperialism in Korea,” 107.
224. Similar legislation had been presented unsuccessfully to the Diet in 1899, 1927, and 1929.
225. Quoted in Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 109.
226. Quoted in Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 85, translation partially adapted here.
227. Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 101.
228. Okada, “Senji-shūkyō sōdōin taisei,” 296.
229. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 61.
230. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 51–52.
231. Okada, “Senji-shūkyō sōdōin taisei,” 286.
232. Ibid., 286–288.
233. Mukai, “Nihon fashizumuka no Bukkyō,” 288.
234. Ibid, 289.
235. Ibid.
236. *Sōtōshū kyōgi*, quoted without further bibliographical information in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 169.
237. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 55.
238. Jingi’in has also been translated as Shrine Board and Board of Shinto Rites.

239. Sakamoto, "The Structure of State Shinto," 289.
240. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 249–250.
241. Ibid., 241.
242. In the journal *Dōgen*, quoted without a page number in *IHC* 4:15.
243. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 112.
244. Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*, 14.
245. Ibid., 15.
246. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 58.
247. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 143.
248. Ibid.
249. Mukai, "Nihon fashizumuka no Bukkyō," 288.
250. Fujimoto, "Modernization Movements and Traditional Education in the Pure Land Sect," 46.
251. Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 115.
252. Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*, 12, 14–15.
253. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 140.
254. For details, see Mizuta, *Sentōki Rinzaigo kennō e no michi* (The road to the donation of the fighter planes 'Rinzai').
255. Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*, 14–15.
256. Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 144.
257. Okada, "Senji-shūkyō sōdōin taisei," 281.
258. Kashiwahara, *Nihon Bukkyō shi, kindai*, 250. Within his statement Kashiwahara is quoting from the "Main Principles" of the Greater Japan Religious Association for Wartime Patriotism.
259. Kuroda Toshio, "*Sōron: ōbō-buppō-sōi-ron no kiseki*" (General remarks: The focus of the theory of the interdependence of the sovereign's law and the Buddha's law), in *Kokka to tennō: tennōsei ideorogī to shite no Bukkyō* (The state and the emperor: Buddhism as an ideology of the imperial system), *Taikei: Bukkyō to Nihonjin*, vol. 2, 44. I wonder, however, how Kuroda would have conceptualized "true religious reflection and practice" and what, given his life's work of delineating the connection between Buddhism and the state in Japan, he might have cited as a historical example of the "ability to engage in true reflection and practice," an ability he claims in his statement to have been lost at the time of the Fifteen-Year War.
260. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 73–74.
261. McFarland, *The Rush Hour of the Gods*, 197.
262. Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, 108.
263. Ibid.
264. Ibid., 108–109.
265. Ballou, *Shinto: The Unconquered Enemy*, 177.
266. Mullins et al., eds., *Religion and Society in Modern Japan*, 81.
267. The expression "national morals" (*kokumin dōtoku*) first appeared in a 1886 work by Confucian scholar Nishimura Shigeki, and the construct was picked up by Inoue, who in 1910 started the Society of Teachings about East Asia (Tō-A Kyōkai) to promote this morality. In 1912 Inoue authored *An Outline of National Morality* (*Kokumin dōtoku gairon*), in which he set forth a moral system centered on *kokutai*, Shinto, *bushidō*, the Japanese family system, and loyalty (Hall, *Shūshin*, 155). For a good overview of "national morality" in historical context, see Reitan, "National Morality, The State, and 'Dangerous Thought': Approaching the Moral Ideal in Late Meiji Japan."

268. See Hall, *Shūshin*; and Yamashita, "Confucianism and the Japanese State."
269. Horio, *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan*, 68.
270. Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 285.
271. Hawkes, *Ideology*, 45.
272. For an English translation of *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai*, see John Owen Gauntlett, trans., *Kokutai no Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*. Excerpts from that translation appear in de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 2.
273. This text was promulgated partly in response to the Minobe Affair, when Tokyo Imperial University professor Minobe Tatsukichi was fired from the university and ousted from the House of Peers for his "organ theory" of the emperor, which conceptualized the emperor as an organ of the state, with sovereignty ultimately resting in the latter. Robert King Hall views the text as presenting "the four basic elements of the [official] Japanese theory of state: Divine Origin; Divine Characteristics; Divine Leadership; Divine Mission" (*Shūshin*, 57). Hall argues that these four elements consist of (1) mythological claims about descent from Amaterasu; (2) *Yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit), the "peculiar endowment" the Japanese received from their divine ancestors; (3) rule by the emperors; and (4) the extension of imperial rule to bring "the whole world under one roof" (*hakkō ichi'u*) (ibid.).
274. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 59, partially adapted.
275. Ibid., 80, partially adapted.
276. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record*, 423.
277. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 87–88, partially adapted.
278. Maruyama Masao has written, "Only by destroying the tenacious family structure in Japanese society and its ideology, the very place where the old nationalism ferments, can Japan democratize society from the base up" (*Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, 152).
279. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 89–90.
280. The character *ie* has also been translated as house, home, and family, and in compounds this character is usually pronounced *ka*, as in *kokka*, national household or nation-state.
281. Irokawa Daikichi has argued, however, that Japanese ideologues initially had to engage in heavy ideological labor to bridge the gap between the traditional household system and the modern nation-state: "In my understanding four ideological intermediaries were used to join the household (*ie*) to the nation (*kuni* [this character can also be pronounced *koku*, as in *kokutai*]) in the Meiji period: the imperial myth, the religious tradition of ancestor worship, the social structure of the family system, and the customary heritage of folk morality. The ideological groundwork having been laid, the Russo-Japanese War provided the national crisis that cemented the bond between family and state" (*The Culture of the Meiji Period*, 282–283).
282. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record*, 420.
283. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 87, partially adapted.
284. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record*, 424.
285. A nation in the sense of a group of people with common identity based on what they take to be shared ancestry, language, territory, language, or religion.
286. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 82.
287. Ibid., 87. The *Field Service Code* teaches soldiers, "Loyalty and filial piety, as one, form the essence of our morality" (*The Official Journal of the Japanese Military*

Administration 3 (May 11, 1942), 239. This publication and the English translation of the *Senjinkun* were produced by the Bureau of Publicity, Department of General Affairs, Japanese Military Administration during the occupation of the Philippines.)

288. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 94.
289. *The Official Journal of the Japanese Military Administration*, 239.
290. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record*, 421.
291. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 132.
292. Hall, *Shūshin*, xv–xvi. School books also recruited traditional stories like the Peach Boy (Momotarō) to indoctrinate students. See Antoni, "Momotarō," 155–188.
293. In Chinese, *ren*, the core Confucian construct that has also been translated as "humaneness."
294. This appears in the first line of the preamble to *The Way of Subjects*. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record*, 405.
295. In key respects *Fundamental Principles* diverges from the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890). In addition to its much greater length, this 1937 text, unlike the Rescript, celebrates *bushidō* and death for the state; emphasizes patriotism more than citizenship (in terms of subjects and laws); acknowledges the foreign (Chinese) origins of the Confucian constructs that were ascribed to Japan in the Rescript; and discusses the West and its science, technology, and systems of thought. While more international in scope than the Rescript, *Fundamental Principles* is also more nationalistic and militaristic.
296. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 132–134, 82, partially adapted.
297. Quoted in Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 118.
298. Ballou, *Shinto*, 179.
299. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 94.
300. Ibid., 145, partially adapted.
301. Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, 247.
302. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 54–55.
303. Ibid., 52.
304. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record*, 405.
305. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 175, 182.
306. Ibid., 183, partially adapted.
307. Ibid., partially adapted.
308. Ibid., partially adapted.
309. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record*, 427.
310. Ibid., 408–409.
311. Ibid., 413.
312. Renowned Zen master Nantenbō (1839–1925) even construed Zen as the root-source of the Imperial Way (Mohr, "Monastic Tradition and Lay Practice from the Perspective of Nantenbō," 79).
313. See Ives, "The Mobilization of Doctrine."
314. Yokoyama, trans., "Two Addresses by Shaku Sōen," 145–146, portions quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 59–60.
315. Quoted in Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 116.
316. Quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 122.
317. Masunaga (d. 1981) was working in 1934 as a lecturer at Komazawa University, his alma mater. A prolific writer, he published on Dōgen, Sōtō Zen, Zen history, sutras,

Zen records, and Japanese spirit. His translation of Dōgen's *Zuimonki* is titled *A Primer of Sōtō Zen*.

318. Quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 139.
319. "Shōji tōrai ikan ga kaihi sen" (How to avoid the coming of life and death), *Daihōrin* (May 1944), 21, quoted in Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 131.
320. Ibid.
321. Suzuki Daisetsu wrote, "Zen discipline is simple, direct, self-reliant, self-denying; its ascetic tendency goes well with the fighting spirit. The fighter is to be always single-minded with one object in view, to fight, looking neither backward nor sideways. To go straight forward in order to crush the enemy is all that is necessary for him" (*Zen and Japanese Culture*, 30, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 106).
322. Though carrying a number of connotations in Buddhist texts, *samādhi* basically refers to the state of one-pointed concentration or attention that is cultivated in meditation.
323. Nukariya Kaiten, *The Religion of the Samurai: A Study of Zen Philosophy and Discipline in China and Japan* (London: Luzac, 1913), 50–51, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 58.
324. Ibid.
325. Winston Davis sketches the appropriation of the doctrine of *on* in the Meiji period and beyond, both by traditional Buddhists and by the New Buddhists (*Japanese Religion and Society*, 170).
326. This doctrine draws a distinction between absolute religious truth (*shintai*) and conventional mundane truth (*zokutai*). For most Mahāyāna philosophers the ultimate truth is emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*). Modern Shin thinkers, while standing in that tradition, construed the ultimate truth as Amida and one's salvific faith in him, and the mundane truth as secular laws and conventional morality. They advocated living one's life in accord with both truths. See Futaba Kenkō, *Tennō-sei to Shinshū* (The Imperial System and the Shin Sect), 165–169.
327. This is an adaptation of Neil McMullin's translation of this expression (*Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, 38). See chapter four for a more detailed discussion of the sovereign's law and the Buddha's law.
328. Quoted by Rogers and Rogers, "The Honganji: Guardian of the State (1868–1945)," 8–9, partially adapted here.
329. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 131.
330. Prior to the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, prominent Meiji period Buddhist leader Inoue Enryō wrote, "In the event hostilities break out between Japan and Russia, it is only natural that Buddhists should fight willingly, for what is this if not repaying the debt of gratitude we owe the Buddha?" (Victoria, *Zen at War*, 29).
331. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 29–30, 143.
332. Masunaga, "Shisōteki sakoku-shugi o warau" (Laughing at philosophical parochialism), 257.
333. In the December 1942 issue of *Sanshō*, 407, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 131. See p. 147 for Ōmori's postwar stance.
334. Yamazaki Ekijū, "The Promotion of Enmity and [its Relation to] Zen," quoted without a page number in *IHC* 4:46. This translation is an adaptation of Brian Victoria's rendering in "Japanese Corporate Zen," 64. Yamazaki Ekijū (1862–1961) served as head priest of Buttsūji and head abbot of the consolidated Rinzai Zen sect at the end of the war (1945–1946).

335. Yasutani Haku'un, *Dōgen Zenji to Shūshōgi* (Zen master Dōgen and the *Treatise on Practice and Confirmation*) (Tokyo: Fuji Shobō, 1943), 7–11, quoted in Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 70, partially adapted here.
336. "Hosokawa Shūmu-sōchō yori" ([A letter] from Secretary General Hosokawa [to Ms. Ina Buitendijk]), 7. This English translation is by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).

Chapter Two: ***Peace of Mind at Any Price***

1. *IHC* 3:67.
2. *IHC* 3:68.
3. Literally, "peace-of-mind-ism."
4. Literally, "state-of-mind-ism."
5. See the discussion of *soku* at the end of this chapter.
6. *IHC* 3:68.
7. Commemorating Jinmu's founding of the empire, this holiday was abolished after World War II, though it was reinstated amidst great controversy in 1967 as National Foundation Day (*Kenkoku kinenbi*), which like its predecessor is observed on February 11.
8. *IHC* 3:11–12.
9. *IHC* 3:12.
10. See the discussion of *sokuhi* at the end of this chapter.
11. *IHC* 3:11.
12. *IHC* 3:11–12.
13. *IHC* 3:129–133. For a rough English translation of the section in which Ichikawa discusses those twelve factors, see "The Problem of Buddhist Socialism in Japan," 15–37.
14. For expediency's sake, I am using "Zen" to refer to both Chan in China and Zen in Japan. I recognize that while this use of the term is faithful to Ichikawa's somewhat monolithic treatment of Zen, it does not do justice to the particularity of Chan in China or Zen in Japan, not to mention Sŏn in Korea and Thien in Vietnam.
15. Ichikawa set forth his first systematic sociopolitical analysis of early Zen in his 1950 article "*Zen no kokōsei ni tsuite: Zen ni taisuru gigi*" (On Zen's solitary aloofness: some doubts about Zen), *IHC* 1:482–510.
16. *IHC* 1:484. Geographers and climatologists can adjudicate Ichikawa's claim of climatic uniqueness. Suffice it to say that his arguments about climate and culture echo broader discourse on climatological determinism in modern Japan, and in *Buddhists' Responsibility for the War* (*IHC* 3:67) he mentions the arguments philosopher Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960) made about the monsoonal spirit and mores of "wet Asia" as opposed to desert and meadow regions. Watsuji made these arguments in *Fūdo* (1935; translated as *A Climate: A Philosophical Study* by Geoffrey Bownas), which in turn was indebted to Shiga Shigetaka's *Treatise on the Japanese Landscape* (*Nihon fūkei ron*; 1894), and to Western theories of climate and culture advanced by Montesquieu (1689–1775, in *The Spirit of the Laws*), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), and others. In *Fūdo*, Watsuji also draws on Otto Spengler's notion of nature (as being "saturated with human content" [*A Climate*, 57]) and Edward Meyer's characterization of inhabitants of deserts (58).
17. *IHC* 1:484–485.
18. *IHC* 2:11.

19. Literally, "ancestor teachers."
20. John McRae dates Huike "ca. 485 to ca. 555 or after 574" (*Seeing through Zen*, 13), while Heinrich Dumoulin dates him 487–593 (*Zen Buddhism*, 327). Sengcan died around 606.
21. See Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 190–194.
22. *IHC* 2:10–11.
23. *IHC* 1:487. In his discussion Ichikawa overlooks the degree to which the early or "high" Tang, relative to the Sui under Emperor Yang (r. 605–616), was relatively less oppressive, especially at the time of such emperors as Tang Taizong (r. 626–649) and Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–756). Charles O. Hucker writes, "The power and glory of High T'ang, from about 630 to 750, can be credited largely to domestic peace achieved by policies of tolerance and amnesty, to stability and prosperity achieved by vigorous governmental leadership, and to a national unity beyond any realized before" (*China to 1850: A Short History*, 91).
24. *IHC* 1:486. The expression, "green mountain, white clouds" (J. *seizan haku'un*), appears in the *Record of Dongshan* (Ch. *Dongshan-lu*, J. *Tōzanroku*). See Powell, *The Record of Tung-shan*, 57.
25. See Hubbard, *Absolute Delusion, Perfect Buddhahood*. This movement was founded by Xinxing (540–594), and Hubbard argues, contra Ichikawa's representation of the movement as rebellious, that while "there has been a persistent tendency to see his community as a popular movement that antagonized elite notions of orthodoxy . . . evidence of elite support is more forthcoming in the historical record" (15).
26. Kenneth Ch'en writes, "In the fifth and sixth centuries, when China was under going a critical and confusing era, people were convinced that the last period of the dharma was at hand. Consequently, they waited anxiously for the coming of Maitreya to purify and restore the dharma on earth" (*Buddhism in China*, 405). Ch'en adds, "To prepare for the coming of Maitreya and to keep alive the hope of the utopian future connected with his coming, Maitreya Societies were formed and became very popular, especially during periods of unrest and turmoil or of rampant corruption in the government. Under the T'ang and Sung, ambitious rebel leaders, intent on seizing power, capitalized on this prevailing popularity of the Maitreya cult by claiming that they were the incarnation of Maitreya himself, come to earth to restore the pure dharma to the realm and to bring tranquility and security to the people" (*Buddhism in China*, 427–428).
27. See Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 429–431 and 451. In 1351, Han Shandong led a rebellion with the slogan, "The country is in great confusion, and Maitreya is coming down to be reborn" (quoted in Ch'en, 430).
28. Cited in *IHC* 4:47. My translation of the passage is adapted from Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 64. Lau's translation reads, "Highest good is like water. Because water excels in benefiting the myriad creatures without contending with them and settles where none would like to be, it comes close to the way. . . . It is because it does not contend that it is never at fault." Wing-tsit Chan translates this passage, "The best (man) is like water. Water is good; it benefits all things and does not compete with them. . . . It is because he does not compete that he is without reproach" (*A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 143). Ichikawa states that a government edict in 733 ordered each household to possess a copy of the *Dao De Jing*, and he claims that the officials who promulgated this edict were trying to foster political apathy (*IHC* 1:489).
29. *IHC* 1:491.

30. *IHC* 2:26. The expressions are "*Sawaranu kami ni tatari nashi*" (similar to "Let sleeping dogs lie") and "*Nagai mono ni wa makarero*" (literally, "Don't get wrapped up in something long").
31. *IHC* 2:6–7.
32. *IHC* 3:101.
33. Ibid. The expression is from Ryōkan (1758–1831), a poet and hermit known for his playfulness with village children, and the next line in his verse reads, "This is the wondrous method (*myōhō*) of eluding disaster." Heinrich Dumoulin translates the verse, "When you meet with misfortune, it is good to meet with misfortune. When you die, it is good to die. This is the wonderful way of escaping misfortune." He notes that Ryōkan composed these lines in 1828, when the Niigata region, where Ryōkan was living, was hit by floods and a devastating earthquake (*Zen Buddhism*, Vol. 2, 347).
34. *IHC* 3:101.
35. *IHC* 2:27.
36. This exchange is found in case 41 of the *Gateless Barrier* (Ch. *Wumenguan*, J. *Mumonkan*, 1229; Wumen's collection of koans ["public cases"]) and in the *Jingde [Period] Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* (Ch. *Jingde chuandeng-lu*, J. *Keitoku-dentōroku*, 1011).
37. Ch. *Anxin fa'men*, J. *Anjin hōmon*.
38. Ch. *Erru sixing lun*, J. *Ninyū shigyō ron*. In 1935 D. T. Suzuki identified the *Long Scroll of the Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices* in the texts from the Dunhuang cave complex. See Broughton, *The Bodhidharma Anthology*, 5–6.
39. Broughton, *The Bodhidharma Anthology*, 78, adapted here.
40. Ch. *Xinxinming*, J. *Shinjinmei*.
41. Cited in *IHC* 1:356. This English rendering is adapted from D. T. Suzuki's translation: "When a mind is not disturbed, the ten-thousand things offer no offence. No offence offered, and no ten-thousand things" (*Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 78). The term translated "offence" here (in Japanese, *toga*), can also be translated as "blame" or "fault."
42. In the *Genjō-kōan* fascicle of *Shōbō-genzō*, Dōgen writes, "To study the Dharma is to study the self. To study the self is to forget the self. To forget the self is to be confirmed by the ten-thousand things. To be confirmed by the ten-thousand things is to drop off the body-mind of self and others."
43. *IHC* 1:357–358.
44. *IHC* 1:357.
45. Ibid.
46. *IHC* 2:46.
47. *IHC* 3:456.
48. Translation by Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 77–78.
49. Quoted in *IHC* 2:46. This translation of Dōgen's statement is by Yokoi and Victoria, 46.
50. *IHC* 2:13. "Establish one's life" (*ryūmyō*) appears in such Zen texts as Dōgen's *Eihei-kōroku* (Extensive record of Eihei) and in earlier Confucian texts like the *Analects* and *Mencius*.
51. Quoted without further bibliographical information, *IHC* 2:95.
52. *IHC* 2:129.
53. As many Zen thinkers put it, one realizes a unity that is ontologically and temporally prior to the separation of subject and object, so although "becoming one" with actuality may express Zen experience from the perspective of the dualistic self or

the subject standing over against the object of its experience, one might better describe the scenario as a realization that at the most fundamental level one "is" actuality as direct experience, experience that is "pure" in the sense of being unmediated by judgment or emotional reactions, as the raw givenness of experience before any reflection or analysis.

54. Quoted in *IHC* 2:129.
55. This koan appears in the *Wudeng-huiyuan* (J. *Gotō-egen*).
56. The Sanskrit term *samādhi* can be translated as "meditative concentration."
57. *IHC* 2:107.
58. *IHC* 2:129.
59. *IHC* 3:101.
60. *IHC* 2:129. The two characters Ichikawa puts in parentheses in this sentence combine to form the compound, *tōdatsu*, "extrication" or "liberation."
61. Or as Dōgen rephrases it in the *Extensive Record of Eihei* (*Eihei kōroku*), in this transcendence one is "pacifying the body and establishing one's life" (*anjin-ryūmyō*). Ichikawa misquotes Dōgen, substituting "mind" for "body" (*IHC* 2:9). For the passage in question, see Leighton and Okamura, *Dōgen's Extensive Record*, 84 n. 31. Leighton and Okamura render the character *an* as "settle" rather than "pacify."
62. As seen in Zen-inspired philosopher Nishida Kitarō's notion of "knowing facts as they are" (*jijitsu sonomama ni shiru*). See Nishida, *An Inquiry into the Good* (*Zen no kenkyū*), 3.
63. *IHC* 3:333.
64. J. Seppō Gizon (822–908).
65. Ichikawa inserts this comment in parentheses.
66. In Japanese, the line about reflecting reads *Korai kogen kanrai kangen*, cited in *IHC* 2:126. The character *gen*, translated here as "is reflected," could also be rendered "appears," "is present," or "manifests itself." A similar statement appears in the commentary on case 82 of the *Blue Cliff Record* (Ch. *Biyan-lu*, J. *Hekiganroku*): "Much as a bright mirror on its stand: when a foreigner comes, a foreigner appears, and when a native comes, a native appears" (Cleary and Cleary, trans. *The Blue Cliff Record*, 532).
67. *IHC* 2:136.
68. This expression appears in *The Record of [the Sayings of Huangbo at] Wan-ling* (Ch. *Wan-ling-lu*).
69. *IHC* 2:136.
70. *IHC* 3:6 and 2:86–87.
71. *IHC* 2:23.
72. *IHC* 2:23–24.
73. *IHC* 3:62. In the *Gateless Barrier* this poem accompanies the nineteenth koan, "Ordinary Mind is Tao" (Shibayama, trans., *Zen Comments on the Mumonkan*, 140); I have partially adapted Shibayama's translation here.
74. Japanese expansions for this include *jujitsu o arugamama ni ukeireru* and *jijitsu o sonomama ni juyō suru*.
75. J. *sokubutsu-shugi,* literally, "according-with-things-ism."
76. *IHC* 2:13.
77. Ch. *suiyuan-xing*, J. *zuien-gyō*. This is second of the four practices set forth by Bodhidharma in the *Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices*. Jeffrey Broughton renders this expression the "practice of following conditions" (*The Bodhidharma Anthology*, 10).

78. *IHC* 1:504. This translation is an adaptation of Broughton's in *The Bodhidharma Anthology*, 79.
79. Sasaki, trans., *The Record of Lin-chi*, 9–10, adapted here. For the phrase on karma I have followed a suggestion from Youru Wang to adapt Burton Watson's rendering in *The Teachings of Master Lin-chi*, 26.
80. Ibid., 27. The line is from Manorhita, the twenty-second Indian patriarch of Zen. Sasaki, trans., *The Record of Lin-chi*, 77 n. 125.
81. *IHC* 2:163.
82. *IHC* 4:47.
83. This term has a synonym, *fusō*, and both of these terms can also be translated as "non-confrontation" or "no conflict."
84. *IHC* 3:111.
85. *Zengaku daijiten* (Tokyo: Daishukan Shoten, 1991), 1208. In translating this passage I have adapted D. T. Suzuki's rendering: "the Buddha says that I am the foremost of those who have attained Arana-samadhi (*mujō-zanmai*), that I am foremost of those Arhats who are liberated from evil desires," and in a footnote Suzuki renders "Arana-samadhi" as "Samadhi of non-resistance" (*Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 42). Edward Conze translates the passage, "I am, O Lord, the one whom the Tathagata, the Arhat, the Fully Enlightened One has pointed out as the foremost of those who dwell in Peace (*mujō-zanmai*). I am, O Lord, an Arhat free from greed." (*Buddhist Wisdom Books*, 44).
86. *IHC* 3:61.
87. *IHC* 3:60–61.
88. *IHC* 3:50.
89. *IHC* 2:156.
90. *IHC* 2:136.
91. *IHC* 2:155–156.
92. *IHC* 2:160.
93. *IHC* 2:129.
94. Avoidable anguish consists most decisively as the dis-ease that results from the conceptual and emotional overlay on experience seen, for example, when one gets entangled in thoughts accompanying one's anger or fear as opposed to simply feeling the anger as directly as possible ("becoming one" with it), without mental commentary or judgment. This anguish is central to the religious suffering that the Buddha termed *dukkha* (Skt. *duḥkha*).
95. J. Sōzan, 840–901.
96. *IHC* 2:29–30.
97. *IHC* 3:60. Philip Yampolsky translates the complete passage, "If you give rise to thoughts from your self-nature, although you see, hear, perceive, and know, you are not stained by the manifold environments, and are always free" (*The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 139).
98. *IHC* 3:60; this quote from the *Linji-lu* is an adaptation of Ruth Fuller Sasaki's rendering in *The Record of Lin-chi*, 7.
99. *IHC* 3:41. This expression (J. *shintō o mekkyaku sureba, hi mo onozukara suzushi*) appears in the commentary on case 43 of *The Blue Cliff Record* (Cleary and Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, 307).
100. Adapted from Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi*, 17.
101. *IHC* 2:14. Though both philosophical Daoists and Zen Buddhists aspire to a type of "naturalism" (*shizen-shugi*) by overcoming dualistic discrimination, Ichikawa con-

strues Zen as more actively reaching out to other people. This difference appears in Linji's challenge to his students: "The True Person without Rank is constantly going in and out of each of you. Those who have not yet grasped this, look! Look!" (*IHC* 2:14). Ichikawa regards Zen as distinctive in that it possesses a locus in which this reaching out to and guiding (*sekke*) of the other occurs: the place of *samu*, productive labor around the monastery.

102. Ichikawa equates this with Nishida's principle of "from the made to that which makes" (*tsukurareta mono kara tsukuru mono e*) (*IHC* 2:126).
103. The first character in both *tatsujin* and *takkan* is *tatsu*, which means to attain, accomplish, or become an expert.
104. Ichikawa also uses the expressions *taikan*, true insight or insight into truth, and *kūkan*, empty insight or insight into emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*). With these expressions Buddhism is referring to "the true insight that 'all things are impermanent' and 'all things are characterized by suffering,' and [advocating] the spirit that admonishes against the mind being caught up in things" (*IHC* 1:504).
105. Literally, "wind flow" or "flowing with the wind." Steve Odin translates this term as "windblown elegance" (*Artistic Detachment in Japan and the West*, 281). This construct played a central role in Ikkyū's aesthetic, as sketched by Jan Carter Covell in *Unraveling Zen's Red Thread*, 189–195.
106. *IHC* 2:170.
107. *IHC* 2:27.
108. *IHC* 3:12.
109. *IHC* 3:101.
110. Ibid.
111. *IHC* 3:102.
112. *IHC* 3:101.
113. *IHC* 3:102.
114. *IHC* 3:101.
115. Ibid.
116. *IHC* 3:132.
117. Ibid.
118. *IHC* 2:46–47.
119. *IHC* 4:134.
120. *IHC* 3:112.
121. Quoted in *IHC* 2:166.
122. *Zenhyakudai* (One hundred Zen topics), in *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, vol. 15 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 219, quoted in *IHC* 4:7.
123. *IHC* 3:456.
124. J. *jakkōdo*. The "land of tranquil light" is the land of the *dharma-kāya,* and it is the highest of the four Buddha lands.
125. *IHC* 2:107. "Flash-boom" is a translation of the onomatopoeic expression (*pika-don*) that Japanese coined for the flash (*pika*) and boom (*don*) of the nuclear explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
126. Harada wrote this in a November 1939 article for the journal *Daijō Zen*, quoted in *IHC* 2:133. This English rendering of Harada's statement includes an adapted version of Brian Victoria's translation of part of Harada's statement. See Victoria, *Zen at War*, xiv.
127. *IHC* 1:482.
128. *IHC* 4:69. The quotation is from Sengcan's *Inscriptions on Faith in Mind*.

129. *IHC* 2:63.
130. *IHC* 2:137.
131. *IHC* 2:136.
132. *IHC* 2:137.
133. *IHC* 2:138.
134. *IHC* 3:466.
135. *IHC* 2:137.
136. *IHC* 2:139.
137. *IHC* 2:137.
138. *IHC* 2:155.
139. Nishida, *An Inquiry into the Good*, 3.
140. *IHC* 2:95–96.
141. Ichikawa seems aware that this may in part be a false binary when he points out that Zen figures may not realize that even the seemingly immediate, concrete, and in some cases aesthetic facts on which they focus are not necessarily divorced from questions of "value" in societies: "Can we contemporary people isolate *facts* in that sense from the actuality of world history?" (*IHC* 2:96).
142. *IHC* 2:4.
143. *Prajñā* is the Sanskrit term for wisdom, and prajna-intuition is a neologism coined by D. T. Suzuki.
144. *IHC* 3:333.
145. Ibid.
146. *IHC* 2:448.
147. *IHC* 3:463.
148. "Empty and false" (*soragoto tawagoto*) is an expression in Shinran's *A Record in Lament of Divergences* (*Tannishō*).
149. *IHC* 1:504.
150. *IHC* 3:466. This portrayal of *the* Asian character suffers from essentialism (is there a single Asian character?) and inaccuracy (is tranquil disinterestedness the pinnacle of human development in, for example, the Confucian system?).
151. *IHC* 4:370.
152. *IHC* 2:63.
153. Concerning *hōben*, the Japanese translation of the Sanskrit term *upāya*, usually translated as "skillful means," Ronald Anderson has highlighted a parallel approach in Shin Buddhism: "The doctrine of *hōben* or 'accommodation' is at the very core of Nishi Honganji doctrine. Pristine Buddhism had to be 'accommodated' to the frailties and needs of the common man. When the needs of government demanded a change in doctrine, Shinshū was ready to make the change under the theory that it is better to bend than break" (*Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism,* 101).
154. *IHC* 4:47.
155. Ibid. Ichikawa applies the label "accommodation of the times" (*taisei junnō*) specifically to Buddhist leaders' joining conservatives in criticizing the diplomatic efforts of Foreign Minister Shidehara Kijūrō in the late 1920s and early 1930s as "weak" (*nanjaku*) (*IHC* 4:31).
156. *IHC* 3:101.
157. *IHC* 3:124.
158. *IHC* 3:120.
159. *IHC* 3:21.

160. Suzuki Daisetsu, *Zen no shisō* (Zen thought), cited without further bibliographical information in *IHC* 3:111.
161. *IHC* 3:132.
162. *IHC* 2:135.
163. Ibid.
164. *IHC* 2:464.
165. Sengai (1750–1837) was a painter known for the humorous content of his works.
166. *IHC* 3:74.
167. *IHC* 2:464.
168. *IHC* 2:452.
169. This is from "Daitō Kokushi's Last Admonition" (*Daitō-kokushi yuikai*).
170. *IHC* 2:452.
171. *IHC* 2:451.
172. *IHC* 4:134.
173. *IHC* 4:135.
174. *IHC* 4:139.
175. These constructs appear in the koan in *The Gateless Barrier* about a monk who had been reborn many times as a fox for once declaring that he did not fall into causality (*furaku-inga*). For an extensive discussion of this koan, see Heine, *Shifting Shape, Shaping Text: Philosophy and Folklore in the Fox Kōan*.
176. *IHC* 2:187.
177. *IHC* 3:61.
178. *IHC* 4:14.
179. The quotation is from the *Record of Linji*. Ichikawa glosses "Dharma-realm" as the world of thought, theory, and belief (*IHC* 2:135).
180. *IHC* 3:50.
181. *IHC* 2:187.
182. *IHC* 2:142.
183. *IHC* 2:135.
184. *IHC* 2:160.
185. Nishida Kitarō, *Nishida Kitarō zenshū* (The complete works of Nishida Kitarō, hereafter *NKZ*) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975), 11:144–145, quoted in *IHC* 3:195.
186. Brian Victoria mentions how Sōtō priest Daiun Gikō (b. 1922) wrote Linji's expression on a piece of paper and presented it to another soldier who, like him, had resisted officers' orders to bayonet Chinese prisoners bound to trees (*Zen at War*, 77).
187. Iida, *Random Comments*, quoted without a page number in *IHC* 2:139.
188. *The Way of Absolute Subjectivity* (*Zettai-shutai-dō*) (Tokyo: Kōbundō Shobō, 1948), 144–145, quoted in *IHC* 2:128.
189. *IHC* 2:141.
190. Thich Nhat Hanh, "The Sun My Heart," 87.
191. In Japanese, *shiki soku ze kū, kū soku ze shiki.*
192. Carter, *God, the Self, and Nothingness*, xxxvii.
193. In addition to "none other than," *soku* has such connotations as "is," "in other words," "just as it is," "immediately." While for the sake of consistency throughout this book I have translated *soku* as "none other than," other translators have rendered it as "itself," "just as it is," "*qua*" (Latin for "as"), and "*sive*" (Latin for "or"). Robert Wargo renders it as "precisely as it is," explaining that "it is meant to convey the idea of essential identity among elements that may be radically different" (*The Logic of Nothingness*, 218 n.

10). James Heisig writes, "The etymology of the Chinese glyph for *soku* or *sunawachi* is said to derive from the sense of 'taking one's seat for a meal,' from which it took the general sense of 'arriving at,' 'being attached,' or 'following on'" (*Philosophers of Nothingness*, 298).

194. In Japanese, *ichi-soku-issai, issai-soku-ichi*. A cognate expression is *ichi-soku-ta, ta-soku-ichi*, literally, the one is none other than the many, and the many are none other than the one.
195. Another expression with *soku* is "true emptiness *soku* wondrous being" (*shinkū-soku-myōu*).
196. The Japanese term *hitsuzen* can also be rendered "inevitability."
197. Reflecting on Nishida Kitarō's treatment of *soku* in his expression "absolute negation is none other than (*soku*) absolute affirmation," James Heisig writes, "Nishida does not say 'A is not-A' but rather something like 'A-*in*-not-A is A'. The copulative -*in*- translates a Chinese character of notorious ambiguity (usually pronounced *soku* in Japanese). Its meanings include 'i.e.', 'at the same time', 'and also', 'or', 'forthwith', and 'as such'" (*Philosophers of Nothingness*, 65).
198. Heisig, *Philosophers of Nothingness*, 306 n.
199. Here "dharmas" refers to the foundational elements that in combination constitute all existing things.
200. Edward Conze translates this, "For the Tathagata has taught that the dharmas special to the Buddhas are just not a Buddha's special dharmas. That is why they are called 'the dharmas special to the Buddhas" (Conze, *Buddhist Wisdom Books*, 40).
201. Suzuki Daisetsu, *The Zen of the Diamond Sūtra* (*Kongō-kyō no Zen*), quoted without further bibliographical information in *IHC* 2:114.
202. As a statement of the non-duality here, one can claim that reality is 100 percent diversified and 100 percent unified.
203. Akizuki, *Zettai-mu to basho: Suzuki Zengaku to Nishida tetsugaku* (Absolute nothingness and place: Suzuki's Zen studies and Nishida's philosophy), 121.
204. Akizuki, *Zen to gendai* (Zen and the contemporary age), 15.
205. In addition to the Buddhist constructs of emptiness and *sokuhi*, Nishida used the concepts of nothingness (*mu*) and locus (*basho*) to ground metaphysically the construct of "pure experience," which he set forth in his first major work, *An Inquiry into the Good*, as the experience in which "there is not yet a subject or an object, and knowing and its object are completely unified" (*An Inquiry into the Good*, 3–4).
206. Nishida, *The Fundamental Problems of Philosophy*, 246.
207. Nishitani, *Religion and Nothingness*, 289, partially adapted here.
208. *IHC* 2:414.
209. Ibid.
210. *IHC* 2:415.
211. *IHC* 3:465. The quote from the *Lotus Sūtra* appears in Katō et al., trans., *The Threefold Lotus Sutra*, 70.
212. *IHC* 3:202. Ichikawa continues, "In the philosophy [Nishida's] that 'would like to *explain* everything' from the standpoint of the self-identity of contradictions, the moment of identity becomes dominant" (ibid.).
213. *IHC* 2:415.
214. *IHC* 2:416.
215. *IHC* 3:142. Ichikawa regards this as the type of epistemology seen in Buddhist wisdom, *prajñā*, or as D. T. Suzuki terms it, prajna-intuition. "The logic and psychological

process here pertains to such facets of *prajñā* as the state prior to the separation of subject and object" (*IHC* 2:414).

216. This line appears in the verse on the nineteenth case in the *Wumenguan*:
Hundreds of flowers in spring, the moon in autumn.
A cool breeze in summer, and snow in winter.
If there are no idle matters in your mind,
For you it is a good season.
217. *IHC* 3:465.
218. *IHC* 2:414. "Defiling outflows" (Skt. *āsrava-saṃkleśa*, J. *uro-zōzen*) refers to mental states that cause or exacerbate suffering.
219. *IHC* 4:376.
220. *IHC* 2:447.
221. *IHC* 3:129–133.
222. *IHC* 2:416.
223. This world in which the Buddha preached.
224. *IHC* 4:375–376.
225. *IHC* 3:12.
226. *IHC* 3:198.
227. *IHC* 2:416.
228. *IHC* 3:191.
229. For further discussion and analysis of Ichikawa's criticisms of Nishida, see Ives, "Ethical Pitfalls in Imperial Zen and Nishida Philosophy: Ichikawa Hakugen's Critique."
230. *IHC* 3:197.
231. Ibid.
232. This relates to Nishida's notion of the sinful person drawing close to God in "inverse correspondence" (*gyaku-taiō*).
233. *IHC* 3:198.
234. Huayan philosophers convey the metaphysic of *śūnyatā* through the constructs of universal principle (Ch. *li*, J. *ri*) and particular things (Ch. *shi*, J. *ji*). Huayan thinkers expound upon the scheme of the "Four Dharma Worlds" (J. *shihokkai*): the world of particular things as normally perceived and cognized (*ji-hokkai*); the world of the universal principle (*ri-hokkai*); the world of the principle and particular things *(riji-hokkai*); and the world of the unobstructed interpenetration of things (*jiji-muge-hokkai*), that is to say, this world of interrelational arising.
235. *IHC* 2:416.
236. *IHC* 4:375.
237. *IHC* 4:47–48.
238. *IHC* 2:145.

Chapter Three: ***Indebted in Our Proper Places***

1. This rendering is by Cook, *Sounds of Valley Streams*, 19. Dōgen reads this line, "All sentient beings *are* buddha-nature."
2. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 41.
3. *IHC* 3:433. The translation of the Galatians verse is from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, ed. Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 1413.
4. *IHC* 2:433.

5. *IHC* 1:506.
6. Ichikawa, "The Problem of Buddhist Socialism in Japan," 16–17. I partially adapted this translation on the basis of the original Japanese in *Buddhists' Responsibility for the War* (*IHC* 3:130).
7. *IHC* 3:130. The doctrine of the "five obstacles" claims that a woman cannot become a Mahābrahman, an Indra, a Māra, a wheel-turning king, or a buddha (*Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* [Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1979], 88).
8. *IHC* 2:433.
9. Philip Yampolsky refers to *Segyō uta* as a "song in praise of charity, dealing with Buddhism and common morality, and meant for the populace in general" (*The Zen Master Hakuin: Selected Writings*, 232).
10. *IHC* 2:452. This translation is by R. D. M. Shaw, *The Embossed Tea Kettle*, 179 and 181, partially adapted here.
11. *IHC* 2:453. Ichikawa criticizes Hakuin for (1) lacking historical awareness, due in part to the cyclical notion of time that Hakuin conveys with such expressions as "the ways of the world of prospering and withering, flourishing and decaying," (2) engaging in an analogical way of thinking that equates the order and laws of nature with the structures and laws of society, (3) drawing on the theory of karma to link goodness to happiness and evil to unhappiness, and evaluating the rich as morally superior and the poor as morally inferior, (4) embracing the calculating notion that good acts will bring about happiness in the next lifetime, (5) advocating satisfaction with what one has, contentment with one's status, and gratitude toward others in Japan's hierarchical society (*IHC* 2:453–454).
12. *IHC* 1:495. For the context, see *Muchū-mondō*, 15.
13. *IHC* 1:506–507. Translation of Suzuki statement by Tyler, *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shōsan*, 71, partially adapted here.
14. Tyler, *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shōsan*, 35.
15. Yokoyama, "Two Addresses by Shaku Sōen," 136–137, quoted in Victoria, "D. T. Suzuki and Japanese Militarism: Supporter or Opponent," 181. Victoria lifts up Uchiyama Gudō as a rare Zen critic of this perspective. See *Zen at War,* 43.
16. Shingon Buddhist thinker Kūkai (774–835) writes in the *Precious Key to the Secret Treasury* (*Hizō hōyaku*), "Sentient beings caught up in defilements . . . have few blessings and much poverty and illness. This is retribution from evil actions committed in previous lives" (*IHC* 2:184; for an alternative translation of this section of the text, see Hakeda, trans., *Kūkai: Major Works*, 190).
17. *IHC* 3:130.
18. *IHC* 2:453–454.
19. *IHC* 3:130.
20 . Yasutani Haku'un, *Dōgen Zenji to Shushōgi* (Zen Master Dōgen and the *Meaning of practice and confirmation*) (Tokyo: Fuji Shobō, 1943), 9, quoted in Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 73.
21. Ibid.
22. Ichikawa claims that in contrast with the Western focus on natural-scientific causation, Buddhist thinkers have advanced notions of moral and religious causation. *IHC* 3:225.
23. *IHC* 2:469.
24. *IHC* 3:130.
25. *IHC* 2:453.

26. *IHC* 3:130.
27. The Japanese compound "*shabetsu*" (ordinarily pronounced "*sabetsu*") can also be translated as "discrimination(s)."
28. Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society*, 157–158.
29. Ichikawa's comments foreshadow later criticisms by advocates of Critical Buddhism (*Hihan Bukkyō*). See Hubbard and Swanson, eds., *Pruning the Bodhi Tree*.
30. Ichikawa, "The Problem of Buddhist Socialism in Japan," 17, partially adapted.
31. *IHC* 3:130.
32. Quoted in Inagaki Masami, *Henkaku o motemeta Bukkyōsha* (Buddhists who sought reform) (Tokyo: Daizō Shinsho, 1975), 112–113, cited in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 50.
33. *IHC* 3:130.
34. *IHC* 3:10.
35. *IHC* 3:10–11.
36. Ichikawa, "The Problem of Buddhist Socialism in Japan," 17, partially adapted. *IHC* 3:130.
37. *IHC* 2:453.
38. Iida Tōin, *Sanzen manroku* (A random record of Zen practice) (Tokyo: Chūō Bukkyōsha, 1934), quoted without a page number in *IHC* 2:30.
39. *IHC* 1:503. This translation is by Katō et al., *The Threefold Lotus Sutra*, 70. An alternative translation is offered by Burton Watson: "that these phenomena (*hō*) [with no abiding character] are part of an abiding Law (*hōi ni jū shite*), that the characteristics (*sō*) of the world are constantly abiding (*jōjū*)—this they have come to know in the place of practice" (*The Lotus Sutra*, 41).
40. *IHC* 1:503. This rendering of the Chinese is by Cary F. Baynes, *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, 303, partially adapted here.
41. Baynes, *The I Ching*, 280.
42. *IHC* 1:503. This translation of the Chinese is by Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 98.
43. *IHC* 1:503. The translation of this verse is by Lau, *Tao Te Ching*, 30, partially adapted here.
44. *IHC* 1:504.
45. *IHC* 3:130–131. This translation of the passage from the constitution is in de Bary et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 1, 2nd ed., 51.
46. *IHC* 4:375.
47. Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 5. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann construe this conflation of social and natural principles as a type of reification. In their "sociology of knowledge" they define reification as "the apprehension of human phenomena as if they were things, that is, in non-human or possibly supra-human terms. Another way of saying this is that reification is the apprehension of the products of human activity *as if* they were something else than human products—such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will" (*The Social Construction of Reality*, 89). As a result of this reification, "the world of institutions appears to merge with the world of nature" (ibid., 90). Expressed from a different angle, this is the creation and maintenance of ideology through the naturalizing (and in some cases universalizing) of social, political, or economic arrangements.
48. This line appears in "Daitō Kokushi's Last Admonition" (*Daitō-kokushi yuikai*).
49. *IHC* 3:470.
50. Ibid.

51. *IHC* 1:502. Many Zen Buddhists would take issue with this claim, responding that in principle, all people in all social stations can arrive at that impasse and break through it, though this response presents other problems for social ethics.
52. *IHC* 1:502. The expression "Every day is a good day" comes from Yunmen Wenyan (J. Unmon Bun'en, 864–949).
53. *IHC* 1:502. Ichikawa declares, "Our karma finds its root in these facts, and our theory of retribution (*ōhō setsu*) jumps back at us."
54. *IHC* 1:495.
55. Ibid. The first verse appears in the 60th case of the *Cong'rong-lu* (J. *Shōyōroku*) compiled by Tiantong Rujing (J. Tendō Nyojō; 1091–1157) (*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (hereafter *Taishō*), ed. Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaikyoku (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1932), 48:265a). The second verse was composed by Musō: "Many times have the green mountains changed into yellow mountains. The troubles and worries of the floating world no longer bother me." This translation is based on the original Japanese and the rendering of the poem by Merwin and Shigematsu, *Sun at Midnight*, 64.
56. *IHC* 1:500.
57. *IHC* 1:501.
58. *IHC* 1:502–503.
59. *IHC* 2:68.
60. *IHC* 2:75.
61. *IHC* 2:63.
62. *IHC* 3:472
63. *IHC* 1:508.
64. *IHC* 2:69.
65. *IHC* 2:417.
66. Ibid.
67. *IHC* 1:505. The expression "various illusions" (*jinrō*, literally, "dusty/defiled laboring") appears in the *Gyōji* fascicle of Dōgen's *Shōbō-genzō*.
68. The Japanese expression *kanyō* can also be rendered as "magnanimity."
69. *IHC* 3:6–7.
70. *IHC* 2:187.
71. *IHC* 4:29.
72. de Bary et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 1, 51.
73. Ichikawa (*IHC* 2:149) approvingly cites Arthur Koestler's claim that "Zen was the tranki [tranquilizer] of feudal Japan" (*The Lotus and the Robot*, 233).
74. Quoted in *Heimin Shinbun* 39 (August 7, 1904), cited without a page number in Victoria, *Zen and War*, 29.
75. *Shinshū no gokokusei* (The Shin sect's character of protecting the country) (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1943), 147–148, cited in Ōnishi, *Senji kyōgaku to Jōdo Shinshū* (Wartime doctrinal study and Jōdo Shinshū), 83.
76. *IHC* 4:138.
77. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 93.
78. Ibid., 97.
79. Ibid., 99.
80. Diverging from Ichikawa's portrayal of the Seventeen-Article Constitution as long ago leading Japanese to value harmony, Itō Kimio writes, "It was only after the onset of the Pacific War (1941–1945) and mobilization for total war that Prince Shōtoku is

depicted as instructing his country in the importance of *wa*" ("The Invention of *Wa* and the Transformation of the Image of Prince Shōtoku in Modern Japan," 39–40).

81. *IHC* 3:10.
82. *IHC* 3:102.
83. *IHC* 4:138. Ichikawa sees the ideology of harmony operating in the postwar period as well. A speaker at the sixteenth general assembly of the Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren) appealed in April 1963 for a new "path of peace between labor and management built upon a sense of solidarity (*rentai-ishiki*)," a construct Ichikawa rejects as a transclass, pan-Japanese harmony stemming from management's attempt to control unionized labor through a divide-and-rule strategy (*IHC* 3:84).
84. *IHC* 2:86–87.
85. The characters can also be read *satsujintō-soku-katsujinken*.
86. *IHC* 2:463.
87. *NKZ*, 12:398, cited in *IHC* 3:195.
88. *NKZ*, 12:267–272; translated by Yusa, *Zen and Philosophy*, 317.
89. Both *hei-wa*, usually translated as "peace," and *wa-gō*, usually translated as "harmony" or "concord," contain the character *wa*, "harmony."
90. *IHC* 3:109. Tessa Bartholomeusz sketched how Sri Lanka Buddhist leaders have formulated de facto just-war theories based on the claim that while Buddhism is a religion of non-violence and peace, violence is at times necessary to defend that peaceful religion and the Sri Lankan state that protects it. See *In Defense of the Dharma: Just-War Ideology in Buddhist Sri Lanka*.
91. Quoted in *Heimin Shinbun* 39 (August 7, 1904), quoted without page number in Victoria, *Zen and War*, 29.
92. Quoted in Onuma Hiroaki, *Ketsumeidan jiken jōshinsho gokuchū nikki* (The stenographic record of the public trial of the Blood Oath Corps Incident), vol. 3 (Tokyo: Ketsumeidan Jiken Kōhan Sokki-roku Kankō-kai, 1963), 737, quoted in Victoria, "The Zen of Assassination: The Cases of Fukusada Mugai and Yamamoto Gempō," 28.
93. *Minshū* is roughly equivalent to the Greek term *demos*.
94. *IHC* 4:138.
95. *IHC* 1:505.
96. *IHC* 2:108.
97. Victor Sōgen Hori translates this as "Within the imperial domains, the decree of the emperor; beyond the frontiers, the command of the general" (*Zen Sand*, 383).
98. *IHC* 2:108.
99. Relative to its importance in Japanese Buddhism, *on* has received insufficient attention in English scholarship.
100. In *A Staff for the Blind* (*Mōanjō*), Suzuki Shōsan substitutes one's teachers and "heaven and earth" (*tenchi*) for sentient beings and the three treasures. See Tyler, *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shōsan*, 37–38.
101. On the *Daruma-ki* held every October 5th.
102. Commemorated on the *Kaisan-ki*.
103. In conjunction with a reference to the "four debts," the *Prayer on the Occasion of Feeding the Hungry Ghosts* (*Daisegaki*) includes the sentence, "By the practice of this meritorious deed we pray that we repay what we owe our parents, who have done all they could for our sakes" (Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 18). For the Japanese,

see the *Rinzai Zenshū shintō nikka yōshū* (Rinzai Zen adherents' essential daily texts [for chanting]), 20.

104. See the mealtime *Verses on the Five Contemplations* (*Gokanmon*) in *Rinzai Zenshū shintō nikka yōshū*, 63–64.
105. In the *Shukushin* on the first and fifteenth of the month.
106. In the case of Myōshinji, Emperor Hanazono, whose memorial service is performed November 10–11 (Foulk, "The Zen Institution in Modern Japan," 161).
107. Wilson, *The Unfettered Mind*, 49, partially adapted here.
108. *IHC* 1:497. This translation of Hakuin is by Yampolsky, *The Zen Master Hakuin*, 53, partially adapted here.
109. Tyler, *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shōsan*, 32.
110. *IHC* 3:131–132. Further, "Ideological recantations (*tenkō*) that took as their catalyst maternal love and love for and from the family constituted one pattern of Japanese-style recantation, and through the mediation of the philosophy of 'debt' in Buddhism, Shingaku, and *bushidō*, the emotion and reason operating here formed the ethos of the imperial system, in which duty (*gi*) is between ruler and subjects, and emotion (*jō*) is between father and son" (*IHC* 4:44–45). Shingaku refers to the teachings of Ishida Baigan (1685–1744) and his followers, who set forth a largely Confucian ethic for the merchant class in Tokugawa Japan.
111. This is especially the case when *on* is coupled with the doctrine of interrelational arising, which provides a metaphysical basis for arguments about how dependent one is on others.
112. Rogers and Rogers discuss Sasaki's book, the full title of which is *On ichigen ron: Kōdō Bukkyō no shinzui* (A unitary theory of *on*: The essence of Imperial-Way Buddhism) ("The Honganji: Guardian of the State," 8–19).
113. *IHC* 4:53.
114. In the December 1942 issue of *Sanshō*, 407, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 131.
115. The Confucian impact on Zen's social outlook has acted in concert with a range of other factors to shape Zen's ethical judgment of women. As scholars have recently begun to highlight (see, for example, Ōgoshi et al., *Seisabetsu suru Bukkyō: feminizumu kara no kokuhatsu* (Buddhism's sex discrimination: A feminist indictment); Minamoto, *Feminizumu ga tou ōken to Bukkyō* (Imperial authority and Buddhism as interrogated by feminism); Arai, *Women Living Zen*; and Faure, *The Power of Denial*), Zen has generally denigrated and subordinated women. This is evident in a colloquial sermon preached by Bankei (1622–1693): "Women tend to anger easily and stir up delusions, even over quite trivial things" (Haskell, *Bankei Zen*, 55). In *Mōanjō*, Suzuki Shōsan exclaims, "Women . . . stick to other women. Their clinging to self is deep, and they are spiteful and jealous. . . . A woman's nature, now, is twisted deep down. Her greed is enormous, her egotism profound, and she is drawn to bewilderment until she knows no right or wrong. Her words are crafty and her mind is shallow. What you do when you yield to her turns to karma for rebirth; when you oppose her she is your sworn enemy. Know, at any rate, that she is pitifully ignorant" (Tyler, *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shōsan*, 46–47).
116. See Araki Kengo, *Bukkyō to Jukyō* (Buddhism and Confucianism).
117. See Morinaga, *Zenkai ichiran*.
118. *IHC* 3:132.
119. This Sino-Japanese character is the *rō* in *rōshi*, literally "old teacher," but usually rendered in English as "Zen master." Pronounced *lao* in Chinese, it is the first character

in Laozi, the name of the purported author of the *Dao de jing*. This character can connote “old” in the sense of a venerable elderly person with great wisdom from a lifetime of study and practice of the Way, whether the “Way of the Buddha” (*butsudō*, an early term for Buddhism in Japan), or the Way (Dao) of Daoism.

120. Over the centuries, Ichikawa remarks, “the peace of the family, the peace of the village, and peace across the land amounted to [the affirmative Zen attitude of] ‘every day is a good day’ and [the core tea ceremony values of] harmony, respect, purity, and tranquility (*wa-kei-sei-jaku*), which function to serve the emperor’s august will (*mi’itsu*)” (*IHC* 3:102).
121. *IHC* 3:132.
122. Ibid.
123. *IHC* 2:132.
124. *IHC* 3:458.
125. Ibid.
126. This term, literally, “treatises on the Japanese,” denotes the genre of writings by public intellectuals in Japan about the purported uniqueness if not superiority of the Japanese and their culture. See Befu, “Nationalism and *Nihonjinron*”; Befu, *Hegemony of Homogeneity*; and Mouer and Sugimoto, *Images of Japanese Society*.
127. *IHC* 3:225.
128. Ibid.
129. *IHC* 3:226.
130. *IHC* 3:457.
131. Ibid.
132. Ibid.
133. *IHC* 2:76.
134. Ibid.
135. *IHC* 2:81.
136. *IHC* 1:504–505.
137. *IHC* 1:505.
138. Ibid.
139. *IHC* 3:457.
140. *IHC* 3:458.
141. *IHC* 4:374. Ichikawa’s emphasis.

Chapter Four: ***Modern Buddhism for the Protection of the Realm***

1. Ichikawa’s acceptance of Suzuki’s representations of Zen as grounded in a unique epistemology—in philosophical terms, an “idealist” representation—seems an ironic move for a social critic influenced by Marx’s materialist slant on history.
2. See Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*; and Sharf, “Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience.”
3. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 95.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 116.
6. Ibid., 144.
7. Ibid., 129.
8. Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 25
9. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 99.

10. Ibid., 114.
11. Ibid.
12. Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 133.
13. Ibid., 142.
14. During the war and up to present, adherents of the several forms of Pure Land Buddhism have outnumbered Zen Buddhists in Japan.
15. Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 200.
16. Victoria, "When God(s) and Buddhas Go to War," 99. Victoria discusses this in detail in *Zen at War*, 31.
17. Thomas B. Allen and Norman Polmar, *Code-Name Downfall* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 165, quoted in Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 132.
18. Meirion and Susie Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun: The Rise and Fall of the Imperial Japanese Army* (New York: Random House, 1992), 323, quoted in Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 133.
19. Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 132–133.
20. Victoria, "D. T. Suzuki and Japanese Militarism: Supporter or Opponent?" 178.
21. Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 146.
22. Ibid., 144, Victoria's italics.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 25.
25. Marty writes, "One must note the feature of religion that keeps it on the front page and on prime time: it kills. Or, if, as the gun lobbies say of weapons—that they don't kill; people do—one must say of religion that if it does not kill, many of its forms and expressions motivate people to kill." Martin E. Marty, "An Exuberant Adventure: The Academic Study and Teaching of Religion," *Academe* 82, no. 6 (1996), 14, quoted in Victoria, "The Ethical Implications of Zen-related Terrorism in 1930s Japan," 33 (unpublished).
26. Victoria, "When God(s) and Buddhas Go to War," 115.
27. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 79.
28. Ibid., 95.
29. Ibid., 157.
30. Kuroda, "The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law," 276. Kuroda devoted much of his scholarship to delineating the *kenmon-taisei* or "influential-parties system" in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, which included the military government, the court, and religious institutions. For an introduction to Kuroda's scholarship, see the memorial issue of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, nos. 3–4 (Fall 1996).
31. Though elsewhere in this book I have translated *kokka* as "nation-state," I am rendering the term as "nation" here to avoid anachronistic usage of "state" in relation to premodern Japan.
32. *IHC* 3:44.
33. Hardacre, "State and Religion in Japan," 278.
34. Quoted in *IHC* 4:34, English translation from de Bary, et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 1, 114.
35. For an overview of this sutra, see Welter, "Zen Buddhism as the Ideology of the Japanese State."
36. Imanari, "*Nihon seishin to Bukkyō ni tsuite*" [On Japanese spirit and Buddhism], 149.
37. Joseph Kitagawa translates this expression as "chief seat of religion for ensuring the safety of the nation" (*Religion in Japanese History*, 60).
38. *IHC* 3:339.

39. This text has been translated by Tokiwa Gishin as "A Treatise for Letting Zen Flourish to Protect the State," and it appears in *Zen Texts* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005). For a discussion of the text, see Welter, "Zen Buddhism as the Ideology of the Japanese State."
40. *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* (Tokyo: Meicho Kukyūkai, 1979), 41:351a, quoted in Kuroda, "The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law," 281.
41. Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 106–107. The close relationships Zen leaders enjoyed with ruling elites in Japan had its roots in China. For a detailed study of Chinese Zen's political standing in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*.
42. *IHC* 1:495.
43. *IHC* 4:34.
44. *IHC* 4:37.
45. The practice of invoking the name of Amida Buddha with the chant, "Namu Amida Butsu."
46. Hirota, *The Collected Works of Shinran*, 289.
47. Satō Hiro'o has outlined how both Shinran and Nichiren took partly antagonistic stances toward secular authorities, a fact lost on their successors in modern times who emphasized an identity between the nation and the Pure Land or Lotus Land. ("Kindai nashonarizumu to Bukkyō: Nichirenshū to Shinshū o rei to shite," 352).
48. Kuroda, "The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law," 281. The quotation of Shinran is from his "Letter to Shōshin," which Kuroda cites in *Shinran chosaku zenshū* [The collected works of Shinran], ed. Kaneko Daie (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 1964), 622.
49. Kuroda, "The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law," 284.
50 . Yoshida, *Nihon kindai Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 510, cited in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 50.
51. *IHC* 3:129–130.
52. The expression Ichikawa uses, *dan'otsu*, appears in the *Rules of Purity for Zen Monasteries* (Ch. *Chanyuan qinggui*): "When lay patrons come to donate money for feasts, simply to visit, or to offer incense, they should always be escorted by the guest master. With visiting guests, the guest master should be respectful and sincere and should not speak impetuously about insignificant things" (Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 162).
53. *IHC* 4:32.
54. One example is Zuiganji in Sendai.
55. *IHC* 4:13.
56. *IHC* 1:498.
57. Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism*, 2.
58. Seton-Watson, *Nations and States*, 1.
59. Pfaff, *The Wrath of Nations*, 54.
60. Taking a more functionalist approach, and with an eye on nations that have states of their own, Kenneth Pyle defines nationalism as "a process . . . by which large numbers of people of all social classes are psychologically integrated into active membership in and positive identification with the nation-state" ("Introduction: Some Recent Approaches to Japanese Nationalism," 6).
61. Buddhist ethicist Ken Jones defines ideology as "a collectively held body of ideas that affirms the identity of the group that believes them at least as much as it provides a comprehensive explanation of society or some other phenomenon" (*The New Social Face of Buddhism*, 59).

62. The derivation of nation is *nasci*, which connotes birthing and blood ties.
63. The emphasis on territory or fatherland is reflected in the term *patria*, land of the fathers.
64. The historical emplotting of nationalist ideologies typically includes notions of a golden age and contemporary attempts at renewal or restoration, with a history of struggle, heroism, and sacrifice in between.
65. Tambiah, "The Politics of Ethnicity," 430, quoted in Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism*, 66. Anthony Smith enumerates six attributes central to an ethnic community: "a collective proper name; a myth of common ancestry; shared historical memories; one or more differentiating elements of a common culture; an association with a specific 'homeland;' and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population" (*National Identity*, 21, cited in Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism*, 67). To Smith, national identity includes a historic territory or homeland, common myths and historical memories, and a common, mass public culture (*National Identity*, 14, cited in Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism*, 67).
66. *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, trans. Ida Mae Snyder (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1882), 26, 29, in Hutchinson and Smith, *Nationalism*, 17, 18.
67. Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism*, 2–3.
68. Brian McVeigh writes that "nationalism is composed of assemblages that overlap (e.g., economic nationalism, cultural nationalism, ethnic nationalism, gendered nationalism). Nationalism does not come in coherent wholes. Nationalism seems more mysterious than it really is because it is often viewed as a grand ideology; abstract, unified and monolithic, standing over and above populations. However, any given 'nationalism' is actually a vast array of 'nationalisms' that interconnect, overlap, and resonate as well as collide, clash, and compete with each other" (*Nationalisms of Japan*, 4).
69. Japanese nationalists of all stripes often talk in terms of "we Japanese" (*wareware Nihonjin*) and embellish this with essentialist representations of the Japanese *minzoku*, a term that blurs the distinction between ethnicity and race.
70. Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths,* 265. Gluck has outlined the late Meiji construction of a "grammar of ideology" with several "repetitive, stressed meanings": emperor (*tennō*), *kokutai*, loyalty and patriotism (*chūkun-aikoku*), the imperial country (*teikoku*), the village (with "beautiful customs" (*bifū*) threatened by urban "relations of interest" [*rigai kankei*]), and the family (*Japan's Modern Myths,* 249–251).
71. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 74, cited in Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism*, 36.
72. Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism*, 38.
73. The authors of *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai* claimed that the West is abstract in the sense of being ahistorical, "lacking in historical views" (Gauntlett, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 52); and the "concrete and historical national life became lost in the shadow of abstract theories" (180).
74. *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 257, cited in White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 104.
75. White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 125.
76. Hence the importance of works like Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States: 1492–Present*.
77. "What Is a Nation?" in Stuart Woolf, ed., *Nationalism in Europe—1815 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1996), 51, quoted in Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism*, 85.

78. "Qu-est-ce qu-une nation," 26, quoted in Hutchinson and Smith, *Nationalism*, 17.
79. Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 903, quoted in Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism*, 22.
80. Japanese ideologues have also portrayed the Japanese language as unique and interwoven with the Japanese psyche, with some even claiming that only Japanese by birth (blood) can really speak Japanese and grasp the subtleties of the language, especially its literary forms.
81. In many cases ideology represents dominant ideas, values, practices, social arrangements, and institutions as rooted in a supernatural level of reality, as deriving from a divine source, and in this way ideology plays a central role in legitimation.
82. As James Kavanagh describes, ideology causes people "to 'see' their specific place in a historically peculiar social formation as inevitable, natural, a necessary function of the 'real' itself" ("Ideology," 310).
83. When raising an alternative view, one may be branded as dumb, crazy, or "brainwashed" (as if a "clearheaded" person would easily discern such "self-evident" facts as x, y, and z).
84. This often obscures the fact that the ideology itself or the specific values, practices, social arrangements, and institutions represented as archaic are actually a recent invention by a subgroup of society. Clifford Geertz has argued that nationalism entails a sense of "givenness," of primordiality, that it relies on a sense of subjective antiquity surrounding the tradition, invented or otherwise (Keyes, Hardacre, and Kendall, "Introduction: Contested Vision of Community in East and Southeast Asia," 5).
85. Louis Althusser has defined ideology as "a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to the real conditions of their existence" ("Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy*, 152).
86. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no hongi*, 286.
87. Ibid., 80–81, 178, 180.
88. Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, 257.
89. Gauntlett, *Kokutai no hongi*, 89. See Barthes, *Mythologies*, 109–139, for how, as Herman Ooms puts it, "myths do not hide but distort and inflect, their very principle being to transform history into nature" ("Neo-Confucianism and the Formation of Early Tokugawa Ideology," 43 n.).
90. Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," 293–295.
91. Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 1. Hobsbawm outlines three overlapping types of invented traditions: "a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour" (9).
92. The main legitimating symbols and concepts at this time were not Buddhist but Shinto and Confucian. Given the amalgamated nature of Japanese religious traditions historically, however, Buddhism had a vast repertoire of symbols and conceptual schemes that tied it into the elements newly assembled in the Shinto symbolic scheme and broader imperial ideology. For example, in addition to the notion of "the unity of the sovereign's law and the Buddha's law," Buddhism could fall back on the equation of kami with buddhas (or bodhisattvas) as grounded in the doctrine of "original ground and residual traces" (*honji-suijaku*); the correspondences drawn

historically between Japan and various Buddhist "lands" (the Pure Land [*jōdo*], the Lotus Land [*rengedō*], the Buddha Realm [*bukkoku*]); and treatises linking Buddhist and Confucian values, as seen, for example, in the writings of Suzuki Shōsan.

93. See Kuroda, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion."
94. See Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, 9.
95. Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes*, 64.
96. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 57.
97. Wilson, "Rethinking Nation and Nationalism in Japan," 2.
98. Ibid., 3. Wilson adds, "The linking factor among a variety of projects, policies and actions is . . . the discourse of the 'national' interest" (ibid.).
99. Hayes, "Nationalism as a Religion," in his *Essays on Nationalism*.
100. These writers cite Hobsbawm and Ranger here.
101. Keyes, Kendall, and Hardacre, "Introduction," 5.
102. Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, 10–18.
103. Pfaff, *The Wrath of Nations*, 43.
104. Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths,* 177.
105. Recognizing the emergence of socioeconomic issues in the countryside, the government started a movement to improve rural areas (*chihō kairyō undō*) after the Russo-Japanese war. See Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths,* 197.
106. Steinhoff, *Tenkō*, 19.
107. Sakamoto, "The Structure of State Shinto," 279–280.
108. Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths,* 282.
109. Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*.
110. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, 47.
111. Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, 153.
112. Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths,* 282.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid., 281.
115. In the early Shōwa period, guardians of Shin Buddhist orthodoxy leveled *ianjin* (deviant faith) accusations against Kaneko Daiei (1875–1971) and Soga Ryōjin (1881–1976). In *The Concept of the Pure Land* (*Jōdo no kannen*, 1925) Kaneko had argued that the Buddha did not preach the Pure Land and that one cannot justifiably believe that the Pure Land exists in any objective ontological sense. Soga found himself in a doctrinal bind with Shin leaders when he argued that to believe in the self is to believe in the Nyorai (the "thus come" one, Amida). This theological position stood in stark tension with orthodox notions of the "sinful" self living in this defiled land (*edo)*, the futility of "self-power" (*jiriki*), and the consequent need for the "other-power" (*tariki*) manifested in Amida's compassionate "Original Vow" (*hongan*).
116. These reformers include Kiyozawa Manshi and his followers; Furukawa Rōsen, Sakaino Kōyō, and Takashima Beihō of the New Buddhist movement; "outcaste (*eta*) priest" Takagi Kenmyō; Sōtō activist Uchiyama Gudō and other leftist priests arrested in the High Treason Incident; Tomomatsu and Takagami of the Truth Movement; and Seno'o and his Alliance of New Buddhist Youth.
117. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 86–87.
118. Garon writes, "Any links between individuals or groups in Japan and foreigners carried the potential of undermining loyalty to the nation by creating competing loyalties" (*Molding Japanese Minds*, 83–84).

119. Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, 251.
120. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 14.
121. Steinhoff, *Tenkō*, 13–14.
122. Even Buddhist transsectarian organizations criticized new religious movements. Ostensibly progressive "New Buddhists," led by Takashima Beihō and other faculty members at Waseda University, organized a rally in 1920 to make the public aware of the threat posed by Ōmoto-kyō and other "superstitious" new religious movements (Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 80). After Ōmoto-kyō was crushed by the government in 1935, Takashima celebrated the repression of religious groups engaged in "quackery" (*inchikisei*) (ibid.).
123. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, 67. In making this argument, Garon cites Wakahara Shigeru, "Wagakuni ni okeru shūkyō seisaku ni tsuite no yokiteki kenkyū" (Preliminary research on religions policy in our country), *Aichi gakuin daigaku shūkyō hōsei kenkyūjo kiyō* 13 (1974): 97, 127.
124. Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society*, 171.
125. Early Shōwa Buddhism mimics the periphery-center relationships between *kokubunji* and Todaiji in the Nara period, and between "temples for peace in the realm" (*ankokuji*) and the shogunate in the Muromachi period. The center now was the Home Ministry and Ministry of Education, as well as prominent Buddhist leaders, sectarian organizations (*kyōdan*), and transsectarian organizations, and the periphery consisted of local temples and their priests (as well as schools, reservist and agrarian organizations, and the local elites heading these institutions). See Gluck on center-periphery, urban-rural dynamics in the creation and dissemination of late Meiji ideology.
126. Ichikawa uses the expression *hiyorimi-shugi* to refer to Japanese Buddhism's "wait-and-see attitude" vis-à-vis political actuality (*IHC* 3:466).
127. More broadly, Buddhist activity since 1868 can also be interpreted in terms of a confrontation with "modernity" and the issues contained therein, including industrialization, urbanization, and, in some cases, secularization and democratization.
128. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, 29.
129. Ibid., 33.
130. The broader process of political legitimation in the first half of the twentieth century in Japan, however, entailed more than Buddhist cooperation with the state, and it was not without conflict. Certain sociologists have recently been conceptualizing legitimation as including struggles between different groups in society (see Billings and Scott, "Religion and Political Legitimation"), and the process of legitimation in Taishō and early Shōwa Japan featured struggles between an array of actors: remaining oligarchs (*genrō*) and associated cliques (*hanbatsu*), political parties, military factions (especially the Imperial-Way Faction [*kōdōha*] and Control Faction [*tōseiha*] in the army), Buddhist *kyōdan*, and individual Buddhist reformers at both ends of the political spectrum.
131. This is also an instance of the full "functionalization" of religion (Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion*, xx), and functionalists in the field of sociology can have a heyday with the early Shōwa period, for it is replete with attempts to utilize religion to foster the kind of social solidarity that was central to Durkheim's theorizing.
132. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, 100.
133. Buddhist discourse also contributed to the ongoing formation of what by the 1940s stood as a de facto state religion, which, in the language of Clifford Geertz, provided

models of reality (the emperor, as the religious ultimate, reigning over Japan—the land of the gods [*shinkoku*]—in an unbroken lineage stretching back to the cosmogonic activity of the divine imperial ancestors) and *models for* human action (obedience, loyalty, filial piety, love of country, and self-sacrifice as a way to requite blessings [*on*] from the emperor).

134. As sketched in chapter two, Ichikawa regards Huayan Buddhist metaphysics as giving rise to varieties of "fact-ism" (*jujitsu-shugi*) and "actuality-ism" (*genjitsu-shugi*) that contribute to valorization of present actuality or specific elements therein.
135. Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History*, 199.
136. For a brief discussion of the possible impact of Nishida's rhetoric of *kokutai* and unbroken lineages, see Ives, "Ethical Pitfalls in Imperial Zen and Nishida Philosophy."
137. Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History*, 3.
138. Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, 245–246, 272, 277.
139. As seen in the Japanese expression *shikata ga nai*, "It can't be helped," "There's nothing I can do" (literally, "There's no way of doing").
140. Members of this new religion, which was renamed Value-Creation Society (Sōka Gakkai) after the war, usually represent founder Makiguchi Tsunesaburō as dying in prison not only for his opposition to the elevation of the emperor above anything else, including the *Lotus Sūtra* to which Makiguchi was devoted, but also for his opposition to the Fifteen-Year War. But I have never seen in Makiguchi's writings or statements any explicit rejection of the war. Nevertheless, he does deserve recognition for having the courage to stick by his religious convictions and die for his faith, a kind of courage that was lacking in virtually all other Japanese religious leaders at his time.
141. *IHC* 4:13.
142. In some ways their domestic stance paralleled the international stance of other Japanese leaders at the time, for as Zen master Hirata Seikō has written, the Fifteen-Year War derived from not only an attempt to resist Western colonialism but also a "self-serving attempt on the part of certain Japanese political and economic leaders to jump onto the imperialist bandwagon and carve out a piece of the Asian mainland for themselves" (Hirata, "Zen Buddhist Attitudes to War," 10).

Chapter Five: ***Quick Conversions and Slow Apologies in Postwar Japan***

1. Of course, the Japanese are not alone in such national dereliction. Most citizens of the United States, for example, have failed to look long and hard at the moral issues surrounding U.S. imperialism since the nineteenth century.
2. This opens up the difficult questions of whether Buddhism allows for free will and whether we can talk intelligibly about responsibility without a doctrine of free will.
3. Jonathan Glover writes, "In legal context, to say that someone is responsible for an action may be to say that he is liable to the normal legal consequences of it. To say that someone is morally responsible for what he does may be to say that he can legitimately be praised or blamed if either of these responses are appropriate to the action in question" (*Responsibility*, 19).
4. Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 144.
5. I have taken the first sentence of this quotation from Thomas Kirchner's unpublished translation of Hirata's letter to Ina Buitendijk ("A Letter from Hirata Seikō Rōshi on

the Complicity of the Rinzai Zen School in the Pacific War"), and most of the second sentence can be found in the redacted version of the letter, which was published in *Turning Wheel* ("From Hirata Seiko Roshi," 39).

6. *IHC* 3:458.
7. Hirata, "From Hirata Seiko Roshi," 40.
8. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 78.
9. This line of inquiry could lead, among several possibilities, to a "Buddhist realism" akin to the "Christian realism" Reinhold Niebuhr sets forth in *Moral Man and Immoral Society*. A potentially fruitful point of reference for contemporary Buddhist ethical reflection on compassion and non-violence is Niebuhr's provocative argument that Jesus' love ethic is an ideal that ought to be striven for but ought not to be taken as one's guiding principle when responding to international conflicts that may call for ethically permissible and legitimate uses of violence.
10. *IHC* 2:164.
11. The first line appears in the "Genjō-kōan" fascicle of *Shōbō-genzō*; and the second line appears in "A Universal Recommendation of Zazen" (*Fukan zazengi*), inYokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen*, 46.
12. In Japanese, *zen'aku no futatsu sōjite motte zonchi sezaru nari*. This translation is by Hirota, *The Collected Works of Shinran*, 679.
13. *IHC* 4:371–372.
14. *IHC* 2:164. Toward the end of this chapter I outline statements of remorse and apology later issued by Buddhist sects.
15. On August 28, 1945, as American troops arrived at Atsugi Air Force Base, Higashikuni told Japanese reporters that what was needed most was the "collective repentance of the hundred million" (*ichioku sōzange*). See Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 496. In April 1946, Buddhist philosopher Tanabe Hajime published *Zangedō to shite no tetsugaku* (Philosophy as a way of repentance). The book was translated into English by Takeuchi Yoshinori, Valdo Viglielmo, and James W. Heisig as *Philosophy as Metanoetics*.
16. *IHC* 4:382. The rendering of these lines in the surrender rescript is adapted from the official translation in Butow, *Japan's Decision to Surrender*, 248.
17. *IHC* 4:371.
18. *IHC* 4:382.
19. Barshay, *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan*, 244.
20. Maruyama Masao, *Senchū to sengo no aida, 1936–1957* (During and after the war, 1936–1957) (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1976), 597, cited in Barshay, *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan*, 243–244; John Dower (*Embracing Defeat*, 496) cites the original 1956 article, "*Shisō no kotoba*" (The words of thought), *Shisō* 381 (March 1956): 322.
21. *Zen to jiyūjin* (Zen and the free person) (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1959), quoted without a page number in *IHC* 3:34.
22. *IHC* 3:34. About this incident, see Ōki, *Bukkyōsha no sensō sekinin*, 44.
23. *IHC* 3:34.
24. *IHC* 3:23.
25. *Chūgai Nippō*, September 11, 1945, quoted without a page number in *IHC* 4:370.
26. *Nihon Shūkan* (February 1947), quoted without a page number in *IHC* 2:163.
27. *IHC* 2:164.
28. *IHC* 3:131. Ichikawa makes it clear to his reader that he is thinking about an approach to action and responsibility that diverges from the law of karma.

29. *IHC* 4:140.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ichikawa appears to be pulling this expression from a Ministry of Education ad hoc committee, chaired by Kyoto School philosopher Kōsaka Masaaki, that in 1965 issued a report, "The Ideal Image of a [Japanese] Human Being," which included the statement, "To revere and love the mother country of Japan is to revere and love the emperor" (*IHC* 2:153–154).
33. *IHC* 3:8.
34. Ibid.
35. *IHC* 3:9.
36. *IHC* 3:8.
37. *IHC* 3:8–9.
38. *IHC* 4:32.
39. Ichikawa's analysis parallels that of David H. Jones, who critiques the argument that "people who have been socialized [or educated] in a bad political culture cannot justifiably be held responsible, or at least not fully responsible, for some of their immoral or evil conduct" (*Moral Responsibility in the Holocaust*, 99). Jones defines political culture as "certain values, attitudes, knowledge, and beliefs shared by members of a political community," which "provides the specific attitudes and orientations that members of the community have toward the political system, its processes, and their role in it" (104). He construes "bad political culture" as lacking such characteristics as respect for the rule of law; support for cornerstones of constitutional democracy like "equality of citizenship, an independent judiciary, protection of civil liberties, and electoral accountability of the government"; participation by citizens; "solidarity, trust, and tolerance"; and political parties committed to the common good (104). Jones is drawing from Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes in Five Nations*, 13–15.
40. *IHC* 3:9.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. *IHC* 3:119.
44. Ichikawa uses *shakubuku*, the expression for, among other things, the proselytizing techniques of Sōka Gakkai in the 1950s.
45. *IHC* 4:130.
46. Ibid.
47. Ichikawa seems to be referring to a line in the *Lotus Sūtra*: "If they [good men or good women] should expound some text of the secular world or speak on matters of government or those relating to wealth and livelihood, they will in all cases conform to the correct Law" (Watson, *The Lotus Sutra*, 263).
48. *IHC* 4:34.
49. Ibid.
50. *IHC* 4:35.
51. *IHC* 2:151.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. *IHC* 2:152.
55. *IHC* 2:153.

56. *IHC* 2:152.
57. Ibid. Ichikawa is referring here to the psychology of Yogācāra Buddhism, which construes mental and physical actions as depositing karmic "seeds" in the eighth consciousness, the "storehouse consciousness" (*ālaya-vijñāna*), which later sprout and bear fruit.
58. *IHC* 3:9.
59. *IHC* 3:9–10.
60. *IHC* 4:76.
61. *IHC* 4:369.
62. One of the three original deities in the *Kojiki*.
63. *IHC* 4:369.
64. Yanagida Seizan, *Mirai kara no Zen* (Zen from the future) (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoho, 1990), 56–57, quoted in Victoria, "The Putative Pacificism of Sōka Gakkai Founder Makiguchi Tsunesaburō," 275.
65. Victoria, *Zen at War*, 159.
66. *IHC* 4:370. With the expression "cutting through past and future" (*zengo setsudan*), Ichikawa appears to be referring to an expression with one different character (*zengo saidan*) that appears in the *Genjō-kōan* fascicle of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* and is translated by Francis Cook, "cut off from prior and subsequent" (*Sounds of Valley Streams*, 67). "Every day is a good day" appears in the *Record of Yunmen* (Ch. *Yunmen kuangzhen chanshi guanglu*), a compilation of talks by the Chinese Zen master Yunmen Wenyan (864–949).
67. Ishii, "Shūkyōsha no sensō sekinin," 226–227.
68. Ibid., 245.
69. See Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 511–519.
70. *IHC* 2:87–88.
71. *IHC* 2:88.
72. At the time Satō was on the staff of the Doctrinal Training Institute (Kyōgaku Rensei Shoin), and later he served as a professor at Kōgakkan University, a center of conservative Shinto studies affiliated with the imperial Ise Shrine.
73. *IHC* 4:382. In Japanese mythology Amaterasu hides in a cave after her brother, Susa no Ō, runs amok in the High Plain of Heaven. Her seclusion left the world in darkness until she was lured out of the cave.
74. *IHC* 4:382.
75. Ibid.
76. *IHC* 4:383. According to Brian Victoria, Zen teacher Yasutani Haku'un justified this assault in writing ("Brian Victoria Responds," 66).
77. *IHC* 4:393. Bix translates part of this: "We have been forced to recognize that you, through the unilateral peace [treaty] and the rearmament of Japan, have again, just as in the past, attempted to act as an ideological pillar of war" (*Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 644).
78. Kyoto Daigaku Sākuru, "Kimigayo o kakikeshita: Kyōdai tennō gyōkō jiken" (The erasure of Kimigayo: The incident surrounding the emperor's visit to Kyoto University), in *Jinmin bungaku* (The people's literature) (January 1952), 41, cited in Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 644. As Bix notes, "*Wadatsumi no koe* is a collection of posthumously published letters [and poems] of Japanese students who died in the Asia-Pacific War" (*Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 767 n. 54). This collection was translated into English by Midori Yamanouchi and Joseph L. Quinn

as *Listen to the Voices from the Sea*, and, according to Frank Gibney, an earlier translation was published in 1968 as "Hearken to the Ocean's Voice" (*Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War*, 298).

79. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 644–645.
80. About the incident, Bix writes, "The Kyoto University protest incident marked the relicensing of de facto lèse majesté and the resumption of more traditional ways of protecting the emperor. It brought an abrupt end to the 'human emperor' campaign. It warned Japan's leaders that times had changed, bringing real danger to the restoration of any part of monarchical authority. In this tense encounter, one can see already the problems Hirohito would have in adapting to Japan's emerging anti-militarism and one-nation pacifism" (*Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 645).
81. *IHC* 4:393.
82. Ibid.
83. *IHC* 3:54.
84. Though both the flag and the anthem were unofficial and regarded by many Japanese as inseparable from the militarism of the first half of the century, in March 1989 the Ministry of Education issued directives that the flag be flown and the anthem sung at public school ceremonies beginning and ending academic terms, and in August 1999 the Diet voted to adopt the flag and anthem as official.
85. The notion of a "high wall of separation" is seen in the U.S. Constitution, specifically in the disestablishment clause of the First Amendment, which states, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion" (and which is followed by the free exercise clause: "or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"). The disestablishment clause took into account several earlier arguments for such a wall. As outlined by David M. O'Brien, in 1644 Roger Williams argued for a high "wall of separation" to preserve the integrity of religion. Thomas Jefferson advocated this wall as a way to protect government from the influence of religion. James Madison claimed that a wall of separation would serve both religion and government insofar as it would ensure that neither would be compromised or corrupted by the other (*To Dream of Dreams*, 8–9).
86. This decision by the Chūō Kōron publishing company followed what has been termed the Shimanaka Incident, when on February 1, 1961, a rightist tried to murder the company's president, Shimanaka Hōji, over a December 1960 short story in the journal *Chūō-kōron*. In that story, "An Elegant Dream" (*Fūryū mutan*), author Fukuzawa Shichirō raised the issue of the emperor's war responsibility and depicted the execution of the imperial family. Having also been criticized by the Imperial Household Agency and rightist organizations, the journal published an apology for offending the imperial household. For treatment of this incident in the midst of the conflict over the Security Treaty and the emergent "chrysanthemum taboo," see Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 663–667.
87. *IHC* 4:383–384.
88. For the history of the Yasukuni Shrine, see Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*.
89. See Antoni, "Yasukuni-Jinja and Folk Religion: The Problem of Vengeful Spirits."
90. O'Brien, *To Dream of Dreams*, 162ff.
91. *IHC* 4:54. For treatments of this in English, see O'Brien, *To Dream of Dreams*, chapter 5, and Fields, *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor*, part II.
92. Japanese have also sued over participation by public officials, and the use of public funds, in Shinto and Buddhist memorial rites at *chūkon-hi*, local monuments (*hi*)

to the “loyal souls” (*chūkon*) of the war dead, which form the base of the national pyramid with the regional nation-protecting shrines in the middle and Yasukuni at the apex.

93. *IHC* 4:393.
94. *IHC* 3:29.
95. *Shūkan Asahi*, March 30, 1960, quoted in *IHC* 4:383.
96. Ichikawa quotes a statement Prince Mikasa made in the February 1959 issue of *Ladies Public Opinion* (*Fujin kōron*): “One thing that made a big impression on me was the emperor saying after the war, ‘If the top leaders of the army had listened to what I said, it would not have come to this.’ But at the tip of the military, it’s all the emperor’s orders, the emperor’s august mind (*omigokoro*). . . . Even officers who had never had a single conversation with the emperor said, ‘This is the august mind’” (*IHC* 4:394–395).
97. *IHC* 4:394–395.
98. For example, on official documents, 2007 is referred to as Heisei 19, the nineteenth year in the reign of the current Emperor Heisei (Akihito).
99. *IHC* 4:17.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. *IHC* 4:17–18.
103. *IHC* 4:17. Ichikawa cites the *Asahi Shinbun*, May 5, 1974.
104. *Kakugo wa yoi ka* (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyūjo: 1978), 150–164, cited in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 162–163.
105. Ibid., 183, cited in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 165.
106. *Seinen ni atau* (1948), quoted without a page number in *IHC* 4:8. The line that Ichikawa quotes from Suzuki’s essay appears in *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), 385.
107. *IHC* 4:7.
108. *IHC* 4:6–7.
109. *IHC* 4:8.
110. Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, 60.
111. In *Zen at War*, Victoria outlines Yasutani’s nationalistic and anti-Semitic bent, and in the Fall 1999 issue of *Tricycle* several Zen teachers in lineages deriving from Yasutani respond to what Victoria brought to light.
112. *Kyōshō* (The bell at daybreak), March 1971, quoted without a page number in *IHC* 4:15–16.
113. Ibid., 16.
114. *Kyōshō*, January 1972, quoted without a page number in *IHC* 4:16.
115. *Kyōshō*, July 1972, quoted without a page number in *IHC* 4:15.
116. *Kyōshō*, September 1972, quoted without a page number in *IHC* 4:16. Brian Victoria zeroes in on Ichikawa’s quotation of the statements by Yasutani that I have translated in this paragraph and translates most of them in *Zen at War*, 168.
117. *A Flower in the Heart*, trans. Furuta Gyō (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1964), 28, cited in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 161.
118. *A Flower in the Heart*, 31, cited in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 162.
119. Yamada is quoted in Maruyama Teruo, *Nihonjin no kokoro o dame ni shita meisō, akusō, gūsō* (Famous monks, evil monks, and bogus monks who have harmed the minds of the Japanese) (Tokyo: Yamate Shobō, 1977), cited in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 162.

120. Kōno, "Letter to Ina Buitendijk."
121. Harada, "Letter to Ina Buitendijk."
122. Kōno, "Letter to Ina Buitendijk."
123. *Takuan ishi no satori* (Enlightenment of a pickle-pressing stone) (Tokyo: Yamate Shobō Shinsha, 1988), 100, cited in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 186.
124. "Zen to kigyō" (Zen and enterprises), *Zen* 70 (February 1961), cited in *IHC* 3:337.
125. *IHC* 4:49.
126. *IHC* 3:13. Ichikawa refers to the U.S. bases as the karmic fruit of Japan's having waged its "holy war."
127. *IHC* 3:13.
128. Such as the attack on Nagasaki mayor Motoshima Hitoshi after his comments in 1989 about then-dying Hirohito's war responsibility.
129. *IHC* 3:49.
130. *IHC* 3:44.
131. *IHC* 3:55.
132. *IHC* 3:56.
133. *IHC* 3:45.
134. Such a consideration of both responsibility and responding could benefit from H. Richard Niebuhr's notion of "the responsible self" as a responsive being, whose actions are "responses, answers, to actions upon us" (*The Responsible Self*, 56).
135. *Shūkyōsha no sensō sekinin: Zange kokuhaku shiryōshū* (Religionists' responsibility for the war: Collected materials on declarations of repentance), ed. Nihon Shūkyōsha Heiwa Kyōgikai (Tokyo: Shiraishi Shoten, 1994), 34, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War,* 153.
136. Ibid., 39, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 153.
137. *Sōtō shuhō* (January 1993): 26, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 154. See Victoria, *Zen at War*, 153–157, for a translation of the declaration and a discussion of the context of its issuance.
138. *Sōtō shuhō* (January 1993): 26, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 154.
139. Cited in *Nihon Shūkyō-sha Heiwa Kyōgikai*, ed*., Religionists' Responsibility*, 54, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War,* 157.
140. Kōno, "Nippō-zenji shōtō kinen kōen," 26. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
141. Ibid.
142. *Sentōki Rinzaigō kennō e no michi*.
143. Kubota, "Apology for What the Founder of Sanbō Kyōdan, Haku'un Yasutani Rōshi, Said and Did during World War II," 68.
144. Hirata, "From Hirata Seiko Roshi," 39. Not all scholars would agree with Hirata's representation of Zen here, but I will leave that discussion for another occasion.
145. Ibid., 40.
146. Harada, "From Shodo Harada Roshi," 40.
147. Kōno, "From Kono Taitsu Roshi," 42.
148. Myōshinji Shūgikai, "Shūgikai sengenbun" (Declaration of the General Meeting of the Myōshinji School), 30. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
149. Hosokawa Kei'itsu, "Shūmu-sōchō ketsuibun" (Secretary General's resolution [about the September 2001 "Declaration of the One Hundredth General Meeting of the Myōshinji School"]), 31. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished). The expression, "turn [its own] light inward and illuminate [itself]" appears in the *Linji-lu*.

150. Myōshinji Shūgikai. "Shūgikai heiwa sengen," 33.
151. Myōshinji-ha Kyōdan, "Myōshinji-ha hisen to heiwa sengenbun" (Myōshinji branch anti-war and peace declaration), 35. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
152. Quoted in Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*," 36. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
153. Quoted in Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*," 37. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
154. Quoted in Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*," 38. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
155. Quoted in Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*," 40. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
156. Ibid.
157. Hosokawa, "Sengen no keii" (On the background of the Myōshinji resolutions), 29. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
158. Quoted in Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*," 52. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
159. Hosokawa, "Sengen no keii," 29. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
160. Kōno, "Preface," 3.

Chapter Six: ***From Collaboration to Criticism***

1. Hirata, "From Hirata Seiko Roshi," 40.
2. This quotation is from Thomas Kirchner's unpublished translation of Hirata's letter to Ina Buitendijk, "A Letter from Hirata Seikō Roshi on the Complicity of the Rinzai Zen School in the Pacific War."
3. Kubota, "Apology," 69.
4. Ibid., 68.
5. Ibid., 69.
6. Myōshinji Shūgikai, "Shūgikai sengenbun" (Declaration of the One Hundredth General Meeting of the Myōshinji School), 30. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
7. Hosokawa, "Shūmu-sōchō ketsuibun," 31. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 32.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Hosokawa, "Sengen no keii," 28. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
13. Ibid., 29.
14. Ibid.
15. Kōno, "Preface," 2.
16. Ibid.
17. Kōno, "Nippō-zenji shōtō kinen kōen," 26. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
18. Ibid., 27.

19. Quoted in Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*," 55. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
20. Ibid.
21. See page 177.
22. Quoted in Myōshinji-ha Shūmuhonbu, eds., *Heiwa e no michi*," 47. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
23. Ibid.
24. Translation by Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 77–78.
25. *IHC* 2:458. This translation of Linji's statement is by Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi*, 33. The six *pāramitā* or perfections are giving (*dāna*), precepts (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), vigor (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and wisdom (*prajñā*).
26. *IHC* 2:436. Daitō's statement appears in *Daitō-kokushi hōgo*.
27. Jakuan Sōtaku, "The Record of Zen Tea" (*Zencharoku*), in Hirota, trans., *Wind in the Pines*, 271, partially adapted here. Whether a typographical error or Ichikawa's mistake, the *Zencharoku* is attributed to Takuan, not Jakuan, in *IHC* 2:458.
28. *IHC* 2:59.
29. *IHC* 4:10. Ichikawa continues, "D. T. Suzuki was not alone in handing down lackadaisical judgments while remaining oblivious to his neglect of this discernment" (ibid.).
30. *IHC* 4:365.
31. *IHC* 4:24.
32. *IHC* 4:131. For Ichikawa's critique of Nishida, see Ives, "Ethical Pitfalls in Imperial Zen and Nishida Philosophy."
33. *IHC* 4:135.
34. Ichikawa, "The Problem of Buddhist Socialism in Japan," 32. (The Japanese original can be found in *IHC* 3:140.) This call for study of other theories and "isms" distinguishes Ichikawa from Japanese Buddhists who have advocated dialogue with other religions while criticizing Marxist thought and science as antireligious stances that threaten religion and religious liberation. I touch upon this issue in my essay, "Liberating Truth: Buddhism, Whitehead, and a 'Religio-Diagnostic' Approach to Religious Pluralism."
35. Ichikawa, "The Problem of Buddhist Socialism in Japan," 33.
36. Ibid.
37. *IHC* 3:142. Ichikawa does not clarify what, exactly, this would entail.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. *IHC* 3:143.
41. *IHC* 2:201–203.
42. *IHC* 2:29.
43. Though beyond the scope of this book, one can interrogate Zen deployment of Ikkyū, for while the trope of Ikkyū's supposed iconoclasm conveys Zen spontaneity, it can function rhetorically to elide the extent to which Zen was anything but iconoclastic in its history of close collaboration with ruling powers and its overall affirmation of conventional ethics.
44. *IHC* 2:53. Norman Waddell translates the expression as "commenting on personal concerns" (*The Unborn*, 109).
45. *IHC* 3:456.
46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.
48. *IHC* 3:457.
49. Ibid.
50. *IHC* 2:459.
51. *IHC* 2:48.
52. *IHC* 2:49, emphasis in the original.
53. *IHC* 3:55–56.
54. *IHC* 3:56.
55. *IHC* 3:88.
56. *IHC* 2:182.
57. *IHC* 3:89.
58. *IHC* 4:378.
59. *IHC* 3:50.
60. *IHC* 2:35.
61. *IHC* 2:32.
62. *IHC* 2:35. Zen Buddhists frequently chant the Fourfold Great Vow (*Shigu seigan*): "However innumerable sentient beings are, I vow to liberate them; however inexhaustible the binding afflictions are, I vow to extinguish them; however immeasurable the Dharma-teachings are, I vow to learn them; however unsurpassable the Buddha-Way is, I vow to attain it."
63. *IHC* 2:84.
64. *IHC* 2:183–184.
65. *IHC* 2:450.
66. *IHC* 2:451.
67. *IHC* 2:465. This translation of Dōgen is by Masunaga, *A Primer of Sōtō Zen*, 89.
68. *IHC* 2:445.
69. Ibid.
70. When Eisai's disciples challenged him for giving away something that belonged to the Buddha, Eisai reportedly answered, "You are right, but think of the will of the Buddha. He cut off his own flesh and limbs for the sake of all sentient beings. Certainly he would have sacrificed his entire body to save starving people. Even though I should fall into the realms of hell for this crime, I will still have saved people from starvation." Dōgen commented on this: "Students today would do well to reflect on the excellence of Eisai's attitude. Do not forget this" (Masunaga, *A Primer of Sōtō Zen*, 28).
71. *IHC* 2:89.
72. Masunaga, *A Primer of Sōtō Zen*, 110.
73. *IHC* 2:93.
74. *IHC* 2:150.
75. Ichikawa characterized himself as taking in his younger years the standpoint of B.A.C.: Buddhism, anarchism, and communism. (In some spots in his essays Ichikawa uses the English word "communism," though the Japanese term he inserts alongside it is not *kyōsan-shugi*, the standard Japanese translation of "communism," but *kyōdōtai-ron*, which literally means "theory of community.") To his way of thinking, then, "insofar as Buddhism takes *prajñā*, the wisdom of emptiness, as the fundamental spirit and principle of social construction, politically it connects anarchism [A] with its negation of the system that takes domination by power (state power) as its spirit and principle––and this is not because Buddhism hates politics

but because it inevitably has no choice but to become political—and economically connects to communism [C] with its discarding of the system that takes xenophobic possession of personal property as its fundamental spirit and principle, and ethically and religiously it functions to secure the subjective conditions necessary for the construction, continuation, and development of these [anarchic and communistic] types of social systems and then to live therein" (*IHC* 3:18–19).

76. *IHC* 3:143–144.
77. *IHC* 3:144.
78. Ibid.

Chapter Seven: ***Absent Ethics, Present Ethics***

1. *Kairitsu-isen* can also be rendered, "give priority to the precepts (*śīla*) and monastic code (*vinaya*)." Hee-jin Kim translates it as the "primacy of precepts" (*Dōgen Kigen: Mystical Realist*, 172).
2. Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*, 114.
3. Refraining from (1) taking life, (2) taking what has not been given, (3) engaging in improper sex, (4) lying, (5) using intoxicants, (6) discussing the faults of others, (7) praising oneself while slandering others, (8) being stingy with the Dharma, (9) getting angry, and (10) speaking falsely about the Three Jewels (the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha).
4. *Shōbōgenzō*, ed. Ōkubo Dōshū, 619.
5. For a discussion of Dōgen's view of the precepts and ordinations, see Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, 169–173.
6. Tyler, *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shōsan*, 56–57.
7. See Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, chapter 13.
8. One other issue that arises here is the degree to which ethical reflection on the role of the precepts in an individual's immediate actions, not to mention in a possible social ethic, has been trumped historically by the notions of *musōkai*, the formless precepts, *musō-shinji-kai*, the formless mind-ground precepts, and *isshin-kai*, the one-mind precepts, which connote in part that one should focus not on the 5, 10, 58, or 250 precepts but on *zazen* and awakening to formless mind (*shin*) and that once one does awaken, all the precepts will be fulfilled naturally.
9. See Nhat Hanh, *Interbeing: Fourteen Guidelines for Engaged Buddhism*.
10. Carter and Palihawadana, trans., *The Dhammapada*, 202.
11. See Ives, "Dharma and Destruction: Buddhist Institutions and Violence," published in *Contagion* (2002), a journal centered on René Girard's theory of the links between religion and violence. My manuscript was mangled by the *Contagion* computer, so there are numerous problems in the published version of this piece. The initial, correct version may soon become available through JSTOR.
12. Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 145, 161.
13. Cited in Nichiren, *Risshō-ankoku-ron*, in Yampolsky, trans., *Selected Writings of Nichiren*, 33.
14. Ibid., 32–33.
15. Cited in McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, 38.
16. As I summarize in "Dharma and Destruction," Buddhists have justified violence that (1) prevents robbers, murderers, and other "evil" people from exposing themselves to the dire karmic consequences of harming others and keeps their potential victims

safe, (2) protects the Dharma, (3) protects those who protect the Dharma, and (4) promotes awakening.

17. *IHC* 2:48. The second statement appears in *Zenkai-shō* (A summary of Zen precepts), written by Sōtō monk Banjin Dōtan (1698–1775).
18. *IHC* 3:471.
19. Sawaki, "Zenkai hongi o kataru" (On the fundamental principles of Zen precepts) *Daihōrin* (January 1942): 107, quoted without a page number in *IHC* 2:166. This translation is adapted from Victoria, *Zen at War*, 36.
20. *IHC* 2:167.
21. *IHC* 2:463.
22. Abe writes, "pure and free will revived in, and realized as the center of, Sunyata functions in terms of a 'vow' that is traditionally called *pranidhana*. It is a vow to save others, however innumerable they may be, as well as oneself, a vow in which the mind to seek enlightenment and the desire to save all sentient beings are dynamically one. This is because in Sunyata the wisdom aspect and the compassion aspect are always working together through Sunyata's self-emptying. . . . Just as Sunyata must empty itself and turn itself into a vow, it must . . . turn itself into 'act' or 'deed' which is traditionally called *carita* or *carya*" ("Kenotic God and Dynamic Sunyata," 58).
23. Eppsteiner, ed., *The Path of Compassion: Writings on Engaged Buddhism*. In his preface for the 1988 edition, Eppsteiner expresses the hope that the book "will offer inspiration and insight to all who have entered 'The Path of Compassion'" (x).
24. Thurman, *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti*, 10–11.
25. Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi*, 50.
26. Ibid., 51.
27. *IHC* 2:437.
28. In Japanese the expression is *chitai-hiyū*: "Compassion (*hi*) is the functioning (*yū*) of the body (or essence, *tai*) called wisdom (*chi*)."
29. *IHC* 2:436.
30. *IHC* 1:499.
31. *IHC* 1:500.
32. These texts all appear in the *Rinzai Zenshū shintō nikka yōshū*.
33. Watson, *The Lotus Sutra*, 305.
34. This expression appears in *The Record of Linji.*
35. *IHC* 1:500.
36. Ibid. Ichikawa also wonders about claims that the principle for improving society is for all of us to benefit others like bodhisattvas do: "How should a mouse about to be eaten by a cat put into practice 'self-benefit and the benefit of others' (*jiri rita*)?" (*IHC* 3:223).
37. *IHC* 1:501.
38. *IHC* 2:439.
39. Abe, "Kenotic God and Dynamic Sunyata," 33.
40. Little and Twiss, *Comparative Religious Ethics*, 28.
41. Perhaps the Buddhist triad is wisdom, compassion, and non-harming, or, in the case of Thich Nhat Hanh, mindfulness, compassion, and being peace(ful). Buddhist ethicists need to follow the lead of Christian thinkers whose discernment of the limitations of theological virtues has led them to wrestle with the question of how one should respond to injustice and whether violence is ever justifiable as part of one's response. Reinhold Niebuhr's criticism of pacifists as naive may be illuminating in

this regard, as was the debate among Buddhists following 9/11 about Buddhistically justifiable uses of violence.

42. One wonders whether Ikkyū functions as a trope for Zen freedom, for Zen's ostensible detachment from political involvement and ordinary society, serving to balance if not to mask the religion's attachment to conventional ethics and the status quo.
43. *IHC* 2:161.
44. *IHC* 4:38–39.
45. *IHC* 1:497.
46. Kitabatake, *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns*, 260.
47. This is a line from *Fundamental Principles of the Kokutai*.
48. *IHC* 4:39.
49. Ibid.
50. *IHC* 4:94–95.
51. *IHC* 3:131.
52. I am looking at the moral signals conveyed by Zen monastic practice, not the degree to which they are actually assimilated, embodied, and put into practice by individual Zen monks.
53. Granted, one could argue that the institution as a whole has possessed significant wealth with its tax-free real estate, cultural artifacts, and other assets, and that Zen simplicity, like the simplicity of the tea ceremonies performed by the masters of the Urasenke and Omotesenke schools, comes with a hefty price tag.
54. Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, 13, partially adapted here.
55. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan*, 138–139.
56. Many Buddhologists, especially those with Kantian and constructivist theories of knowledge, have challenged the accuracy and plausibility of Suzuki's Zen epistemology.
57. In this paragraph I am largely paraphrasing Robert Sharf's argument in "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism."
58. See Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights*, chapter 2.
59. See Faure, "The Kyoto School and Reverse Orientalism."
60. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture*, 338n.
61. In an article I once wrote,

    > Is there not a tendency to lift our respective heroes, whether Dōgen or Luther, out of their historical contexts and portray them as universal thinkers? One sees this especially on the Buddhist side, which often offers up retrospectively-constructed and largely sanitized images of figures like Dōgen and Shinran as being universal thinkers free from such popular religious practices as divination, exorcism, ancestor worship, or prayers to the local tutelary gods. This holds for the Christian side as well, where in interfaith dialogue one will hear much about Luther's notions of justification but little about his denunciation of peasant uprisings in the 1520s or his tirades against Judaism in the 1530s.

    "Masao Abe and His Dialogical Mission," 352.
62. Hosokawa, "Shūmu-sōchō ketsuibun," 31. English translation by Thomas Kirchner (unpublished).
63. Here and there in his writings Ichikawa advocates expanding Buddhist wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*) to include historical discernment. Though he does not elaborate on what exactly this would entail, the Buddhist insight into the psychodynamics of clinging and

defensiveness in individual egos can be expanded into an analysis of those dynamics in collective egos (in David Loy's terms, the "wego"), whether the Japanese during the war or groups in other societies.

64. At this point in Japanese postwar history, Buddhist thinkers can join other Japanese in grappling with the contested and convoluted memory of Japanese imperialism and resist the attempts by some voices to establish an official, sanitized memory of the war.
65. Buitendijk, "Interim Report of the 'Road to Peace Symposium,'" 5.
66. Obviously, the Japanese in the early Shōwa period were not the only Buddhists in history to have fallen short of Buddhist ideals.
67. Uchimura (1861–1930) was a Christian teacher at the First Higher School in Tokyo, and at a school assembly in 1891 he refused to bow before the Imperial Rescript on Education and the portrait of the emperor.
68. *IHC* 3:44.
69. Breaking out of its embeddedness and constructing a social ethic transcendent of conventional Japanese morality may not, of course, be as easy as it might appear, for most Japanese Zen priests are focused, as in the past, on getting trained in monasteries, performing rituals, administering temples, and, insofar as they engage in any kind of analysis, studying Zen texts. Moreover, much of Japanese ethical reflection over the past two centuries has construed morality in immanent and parochial terms, as seen in discourse on "national morality" and the *kokutai* before the war and in recent essentialist and exceptionalist portrayals of the Japanese in *Nihonjinron*, popular "treatises on the Japanese."
70. Steven Heine lifts up the "way of repentance" (*zangedō*) as a resource for reforming Zen. It "involves a profound personal sense of self-criticism (*jiko hihan*), [and] implies an existential struggle and coming to terms with one's wrongdoing, which can be applied on both individual and communal levels" (*Zen Skin, Zen Marrow*, 170–171).
71. Low, "Master Hakuin's Gateway to Freedom," 89.
72. This representation runs head-on into the historical record, given the wartime belligerence and parochialism displayed by ostensibly enlightened Zen masters during the war. Either those masters were not awakened (which raises issues about Zen lineages and the certification [*inka*] of Zen masters therein as awakened) or the traditional claim that awakening immediately and automatically equips the awakened person with wisdom and compassion needs to be rejected or revised.
73. "Zenkai Sasshin" (Renewal of the Zen world), in *Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū* 28:413, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 148.
74. Glassman, "Bernie Glassman Responds," 72. If he were alive today, Abe would probably disagree with Suzuki and Glassman, for in a conversation in the early 1980s about the emergent scandal over several Zen teachers' dubious sexual behavior in the United States, Abe said to me, "If they were awakened, they wouldn't be doing such things."
75. Perhaps this could function as the Buddhist version of what David Jones highlights as a core ethical construct: the "prima facie duty not to harm others" (*Moral Responsibility in the Holocaust*, 6–7).
76. As seen in biblical traditions, even such apparently universal, deontological resources as the Ten Commandments gain conflicting interpretations, and this is also the case with the nearest Buddhist analogue, the Five Precepts.

77. In this sense Zen seems to offer an opiate for the masses, not by delaying fulfillment to a heavenly future but by displacing it from the external material realm to the internal spiritual realm.
78. In a recent article I sketched how the Zen analysis of human suffering does contain at least six resources—and the beginnings of a methodology—for a critique of ideology: (1) Zen calls into question the binary thinking and dualistic mode of experience that is characteristic of most ideologies, (2) Zen psychological analysis and meditative discipline can serve to unmask and uproot fear, ignorance, greed, and ill-will permeating adherence to ideologies, (3) the Zen version of the overall Buddhist critique of clinging subverts our attachment to mental constructs and conceptual schemes that prop up our sense of self and promote our interests, which, at the political level, manifests itself as tenacious adherence to ideologies, (4) the antisubstantialist orientation of Zen philosophy can prove useful in ideology critique insofar as it sensitizes us to the kind of reification that characterizes ideological representation, (5) Zen theory and practice, at least in principle, help dissolve not only attachment to oneself and the constructs and objects we reify, but also the fearful desire to be certain about things, to be right, a variety of clinging usually accompanied by a fair measure of self-righteousness and arrogance, and (6) Zen practice ostensibly generates clearer perception of actuality, increasingly free from self-interest and bias. For further discussion of these topics, see Ives, "Not Buying in to Words and Letters: Zen, Ideology, and Prophetic Critique."
79. This search in Buddhist sources for support of ethical stances deriving largely from non-Buddhist sources has been critiqued by Ian Harris in several articles about recent attempts to advance a Buddhist environmental ethic. See his "How Environmentalist Is Buddhism?"; "Causation and Telos: The Problem of Buddhist Environmental Ethics"; and "Buddhist Environmental Ethics and Detraditionalization: The Case of EcoBuddhism."
80. A further issue hanging over this is the question of whether Engaged Buddhists are developing Buddhism or, as some critics claim, distorting it or watering it down. Here, too, we encounter the question of what the core of Buddhism might be, of what, exactly, is getting distorted or watered down.
81. Ives, "Deploying the Dharma: Reflections on the Methodology of Constructive Buddhist Ethics."
82. Part of the analysis can be of the broader dimension of the Second Noble Truth, the cause of suffering, understood in terms of the "three poisons" of greed, ill-will, and ignorance. David Loy takes this route in discussing how these mental hindrances can be institutionalized. See *The Great Awakening: A Buddhist Social Theory*, chapter three.
83. One might argue that Mahāyāna ethics, while exhibiting elements of deontology (a duty to act like a bodhisattva to help others) and virtue ethics (striving for Buddhistic fulfillment through the cultivation of various perfections (Skt. *pāramitā*)), seem most akin to utilitarianism, with the utility being liberation from suffering and the goal of actions being the greatest net liberation of the greatest number.
84. See Jenkins, "Do Bodhisattvas Relieve Poverty?"
85. I began to analyze those conditions, articulate that connection, and formulate a Zen social ethic in *Zen Awakening and Society*.
86. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture*, 63.

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